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# SYRIA

3000 to 300 B.C.

A Handbook of Political History



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# PREFACE

The intention of this handbook is to give information on all pertinent textual sources available for the various periods of Syrian history from the emergence of the first states on Syrian territory to the period when Alexander the Great conquered Syria. At the same time an outline history tries to evaluate this material as far as political history is concerned, citing the sources and referring to the published scholarly discussion of texts and data. Of course, the broad field of relevant sources and the long period to be dealt with render it impossible to discuss all texts in detail or to solve chronological and historical problems which are still under discussion. Thus, the following pages merely offer an introduction to this complex material and ask the interested reader to consult the editions and publications quoted in the current text or in the footnotes.

The book was prepared in the course of several years and completed according to the most current editions of texts and their interpretation. Nevertheless, it was not always possible to integrate into the manuscript all additions and assumptions, especially with regard to the new information as given by the progressing edition of archives. But it is hoped that the basic sources and literature are to be found in these pages. The English text has been corrected by Mr. Phillip Williams.

This volume is dedicated to my wife, who shared in its inception, and whose criticism helped me in many ways. Thanks are also due to the publisher for his acceptance of the manuscript and for the final printing.

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Horst Klengel





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# ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

A	Number of (unpublished) Mari texts
AAAS	Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AAS	Annales archéologiques de Syrie (former title of AAAS)
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung, hrsgg. von F.R.Kraus.
ABOT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri
AcAn	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
AcSum	Acta Sumerologica
AEM	Archives épistolaires de Mari (= ARM XXVI)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves
AIUON	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AIT	Number of Alalakh tablets
ANET	Pritchard, J.B.(ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, Princeton 1950 (1955, 1969)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOS	American Oriental Series
AR	Breasted, J.H., Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago 1906-1907
ARAB	see Luckenbill, D.D.
ARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Studi
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi
ARI	Grayson, A.K., Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, I-II, Wiesbaden 1972 and 1976
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni
ARRIM	Annual Report. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
AUCT	Sigrist, M., Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum (Andrews University Cuneiform Texts, 1), Berrien Springs 1985
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BibAr	The Biblical Archaeologist
BM	Number of Tablets in the British Museum
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth

- BN Biblische Notizen  
 BO Bibliotheca Orientalis  
 CAH The Cambridge Ancient History  
 CRAIBL Comptes rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres  
 CTH E.Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris 1971  
 EA Publication number of Amarna texts  
 EAZ Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift  
 FAOS Freiburger altorientalische Studien  
 FF Forschungen und Fortschritte  
 FHG E.Laroche, Fragments hittites de Genève, in: RA 45 (1951) and 46 (1952)  
 Forrer, Provinzeinteilung Forrer, E., Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches, Leipzig 1920  
 Frayne, Old Babylonian Period Frayne, D.R., The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, Vol.4: Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC), Toronto 1990  
 Gaál 1982 Gaál, E., in: Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio Historica XXII, 1982  
 Grayson, Chronicles Grayson, A.K., Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, Locust Valley N.Y. 1975  
 GS Klengel, H., Geschichte Syriens im 2.Jahrtausend v.u.Z., I-III, Berlin 1965–1970  
 Helck, Beziehungen W.Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Wiesbaden 1962 (2nd edition 1971)  
 HSAO Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient  
 HT Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum, London 1920  
 IBoT Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri  
 IEJ Israel Exploration Journal  
 IM Inventory numbers of the Iraq Museum Baghdad  
 IOS Israel Oriental Studies  
 IRSA Sollberger, E. – Kupper, J.-R., Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes, Paris 1971  
 JANES The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society  
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society  
 JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt  
 JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies  
 JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology  
 JEOL Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux  
 JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient  
 Jirku, Listen Jirku, A., Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen, Leipzig 1937  
 JJS Journal of Jewish Studies  
 JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies  
 KAH Keilschrifturkunden aus Assur historischen Inhalts, I-II, Leipzig 1911 and 1922 (WVDOG 16, 37)  
 KAI Donner, H. – Röllig, W., Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, I-III, Wiesbaden 1971–1976 (3rd edition)  
 KAJ Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts, Leipzig 1927 (WVDOG 50)  
 KAV Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, Leipzig 1920 (WVDOG 35)  
 KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

- KTU M.Dietrich — O.Loretz — J.Sanmartín, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, I (AOAT 24/1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976
- KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
- MAIS Missione archeologica italiana in Siria
- MARI Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- MEE Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
- MUSJ Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft
- MVN Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico
- NABU N.A.B.U. Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
- OA Oriens Antiquus
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia. Analecta
- OLP Orientalia Lovaniensia. Periodica
- OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
- Or Orientalia
- PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly
- Porter-Moss, Bibliography Porter, B. — Moss, R.L.B., Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. VII: Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt. Oxford 1951
- PRU Le Palais royal d'Ugarit
- RA Revue d'assyriologie
- RHA Revue hittite et asianique
- RGTC Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
- RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
- RS Excavation numbers of the Ras Shamra tablets
- RSF Rivista degli studi fenici
- RSI Rivista storica italiana
- RSO Rivista degli studi orientali
- SAK Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
- SBA Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
- SEb Studi Eblaïti
- SEL Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico
- Simons, Lists Simons, J., Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia, Leiden 1937
- SMEA Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
- SSEA Journal Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquity Journal
- StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
- TCM Textes cunéiformes de Mari
- THeth. Texte der Hethiter
- TFR Terqa Final Reports
- TSSI Gibson, J.C.L., Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, I-III, Oxford 1971-1982
- TUAT O.Kaiser (ed.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
- UF Ugarit-Forschungen
- Urk. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 4.Abt.
- VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

VBoT	Götze, A., Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte, Marburg 1930
VDI	Vestnik drevnej istorii
VO	Vicino Oriente
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

# INTRODUCTION

Two decennia have elapsed since the publication of the last volume of the "Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z." (abbr.: GS) in 1970. In the meantime archaeological and philological research has considerably enlarged the source-base for the history of ancient Syria. Furthermore historical investigations of Syria during the period between c. 3000 and 300 B.C. have contributed to a better understanding of the evidence available so far. Therefore it seemed justified to compile and to re-evaluate all the pertinent textual material and sources for a political history of Syria, though in a different manner to that of the GS volumes. It is now intended to place at the reader's disposal a kind of handbook which refers to archives and major sources pertaining to the various periods of Syrian history and which also offers an outline history with footnotes pointing to relevant texts and to the scholarly discussion. This presentation exceeds the chronological parameters of GS by including the third millennium — as far as relevant textual sources are available — and the first millennium up to the conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great. Thus the period covered in this volume spans more than two millennia.

The special concern of this handbook is political history in a restricted sense. Although the textual evidence for each period will be referred to in full, at least by mentioning the archives, the historical outline will make use of those texts which bear directly on political history, i.e. the internal situation and the external relations of Syrian political entities. The social and economic background of these relations cannot be treated in *extenso*, and both the cultural development and the religious beliefs have to remain outside the scope of the text.

As the bulk of pertinent sources comes from the second millennium, an overlap with volumes I and II of GS cannot be avoided. Contrary to GS I-II, the sources are not quoted in detail or with their original text. It was not intended to replace GS in this respect, but to give an introduction to the sources and the political history without discussing all details and problems<sup>1</sup>. It was also impossible to refer to all the

1 It is hoped that the literature mentioned in the footnotes will furnish the necessary discussion of details which was not possible to insert into this text. In general, the compilation of philological treatments of cuneiform texts as given by R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur, I-III*, Berlin 1967-1975, should be consulted. Cf. furthermore the current bibliographies in the journals "Orientalia" (Rome) and "Archiv für Orientforschung" (Vienna).

cuneiform editions of sources mentioned in the various chapters of this book, but it is hoped that the editions will become accessible by making use of the literature quoted in the text and the footnotes.

There is a lack of information with regard to some periods or regions which renders it impossible to give an impression of the relevant political history. Besides, it is chronology which poses the most difficult problems. As in GS the so-called "middle chronology" is applied to the periods before the second half of the 2nd millennium. Although the author is well aware of the arguments advanced in favour of the "low" or "long" chronologies,<sup>2</sup> it nevertheless seems appropriate to give absolute dates according to the "middle" chronology. Up to now there is no definite and generally accepted proof for the accuracy of any of these systems. As far as the period after the middle of the 2nd millennium is concerned, dates follow the reduced absolute chronology, while absolute dating of the Egyptian pharaohs, still under discussion, follows as far as possible the dates published by J. von Beckerath in 1984.<sup>3</sup> Thus, absolute dates, if available at all, are to be used with caution although they cannot be omitted. More importance is attributed to relative chronology, especially to synchronisms.

Another problem to be considered here is how to organize the two millennia of Syrian history treated in this volume. The archaeological system, i.e. a division into the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age, does not fully respond to the needs of political history even if subdivided into shorter phases. The same is true for a system distinguishing between periods called "Proto-Syrian", "Early Syrian", "Old Syrian", "Middle Syrian", "Neo-Syrian" and "Late Syrian" in congruence with periods of Mesopotamian history. Therefore it seems adequate to prefer a division according to the political development of Syria itself, although there is an inherent weakness too: Syria was neither a political entity of its own (i.e. with a sequence of dynasties ruling all the country) nor are all periods evidenced sufficiently by textual material from Syrian sites. The chapters of this volume are therefore to be understood as a compromise between an account of purely Syrian history and the history of the neighbouring countries which intervened in Syria and left written evidence behind.

This situation is also reflected by the diversity of the relevant textual material in both script and language. Since the 3rd millennium the most important centres of Syria utilized either the Mesopotamian cuneiform script applying it to their own (Semitic) language by developing this system of writing into an "alphabetic" one later on, or the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Further textual evidence comes from those neighbouring countries which conquered Syria at least partially and handed down pertinent inscriptions in their own languages. A "hieroglyphic" script, used in Syria from the late 2nd millennium and originating in Anatolia, has been proved as a writing system for the Luwian language. At the same time first steps were made to develop a

2 Cf., most recently, the discussion in P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987.

3 J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Berlin 1984.



linear system for Semitic languages as, e.g., Aramaic and Phoenician.<sup>4</sup> The texts written in this script are mostly lost because they were normally written on perishable material such as papyrus and leather (parchment). Biblical traditions and also the accounts of Greek and Roman authors become important as far as the 1st millennium and especially the period immediately before the conquest of Syria by Alexander are concerned. This multiplicity of scripts and languages pertaining to the history of ancient Syria renders difficult their adequate evaluation by a single author; he has to rely — at least partly — on the results of specialized philological study achieved by others.

A political history is not the place to discuss *in extenso* the natural setting and all the resources available in the region in question.<sup>5</sup> The following remarks therefore focus on those factors which have had — or could have had — influenced the political development of Syria. First of all, Syria is understood as the area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates or the Syrian desert, the plain of Gaziantep resp. the southern slopes of the Taurus and a fictitious line running from south of Tyre to Dera'a, nearly identical with the present southern borders of Lebanon and Syria. This geographical position between the sea and Mesopotamia, between Anatolia and Palestine has influenced Syrian history decisively by facilitating its involvement in the political development of powers as Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, Hatti and Hurri-Mittani. At the same time it makes difficult the study of Syrian history because of the great diversity of sources.

Syria was equally attractive and involved from an economic point of view. It was part of the "Fertile Crescent" with wide plains where dry-farming was effective under the condition that the soil received more than 300 millimetres of rain a year; this was the case especially in the north and in the central part of Syria.<sup>6</sup> The coastal mountains were rich in timber, such as cedars, cypresses and pines, which were in great demand in Mesopotamia and Egypt as well. Wine and olives, growing also in the hilly areas of Syria, even on stony soils, were important exports as well. The latter is true furthermore for products of specialized handicrafts, for example (purple-dyed) textiles, furniture, metal-work, glass, etc. Foreign powers tried to obtain these Syrian products not only by trade but also by military force, i.e. as booty or tribute. The woodlands of Syria were, it seems, by far more extensive than at present and perhaps contributed to a more humid climate with possibilities of settlement in areas where the steppe now dominates. There is no indication of a drastic change in the

4 For the problem of writing systems and languages of the historical sources pertaining to Syria cf. H.Klengel, *Das Altertum* 35 (1989) 150–157.

5 In general, cf. E.Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971. This handbook concerns the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic, i.e. includes parts of northern Mesopotamia and excludes the Lebanon. Many references to the natural conditions of ancient Syria are given; cf. also W.C.Brice (ed.), *The Environmental History of the Near and Middle East Since the Last Ice Age*, London — New York — San Francisco 1978, and GS I 9–14.

6 Cf. L.Milano, *Dialoghi di archeologia* 3 (1981) 85–121 and (region of Ebla) A. de Maigret, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli 1984, 329–335.

climate during the period in question, i.e. from the 3rd millennium onwards, but the annual quantities of rainfall could oscillate and bring about an extension or withdrawal of the settled and cultivated areas.<sup>7</sup> The wealth of the coastal mountains in timber is mentioned in inscriptions from both Egypt und Mesopotamia; the Amanus and, later on, the Lebanon became the typical "cedar forests" of the literary tradition.<sup>8</sup>

Another base for Syrian economy was trade, both because of the geographical position and its economic productivity. Participating in a long-distance trade in precious stones from about the middle of the 3rd millennium, Syria became the centre for inter-regional exchange especially during the early 2nd millennium when the Aegean and Cyprus emerged as partners.<sup>9</sup> At the threshold between the 2nd and the 1st millennia the coastal region of Syria, Phoenicia, began to develop into the "mother country" of a system of trading colonies, thus enlarging the economic horizon of Western Asia considerably. Syria was crossed by important trade routes, the course of which can be detected from the textual evidence and the material of foreign origin discovered in the urban centres. The relief of Syria, especially the mountain ranges along the sea-shore, gave access to the harbours mainly by two "gaps" — the gap of Homs between Lebanon and Jebel Anseriya (near the Akkar plain), opening the way to Gubla/Byblos and other harbours, and a route crossing the lower Orontes and leading to Ugarit in the north. The most important entrance into the interior of Syria from the coast of the Mediterranean was certainly the first one, also used by the armies of the Egyptian pharaohs of the early 18th dynasty.

Thus, the natural conditions of Syria favoured contact and exchange but also attracted foreign armies. The difference in political and economic orientation between the coastal and inland centres augmented Syrian polycentrism.

The political history outlined in this volume starts with the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium), when a stratified society organized in early states appears for the first time in written sources originating from or pertaining to Syria. The development of the state as a political entity and the relations between these states and their rulers are the basic topic of the history of Syria such set forth in the following chapters. Other aspects of the topic as the patterns and density of settlement, social and economic development etc. are taken into consideration only when they affect political history in this narrow sense.

At the time when Syrian history entered the written sources, several prehistoric millennia had already elapsed. The earliest settlements are known from the 8th

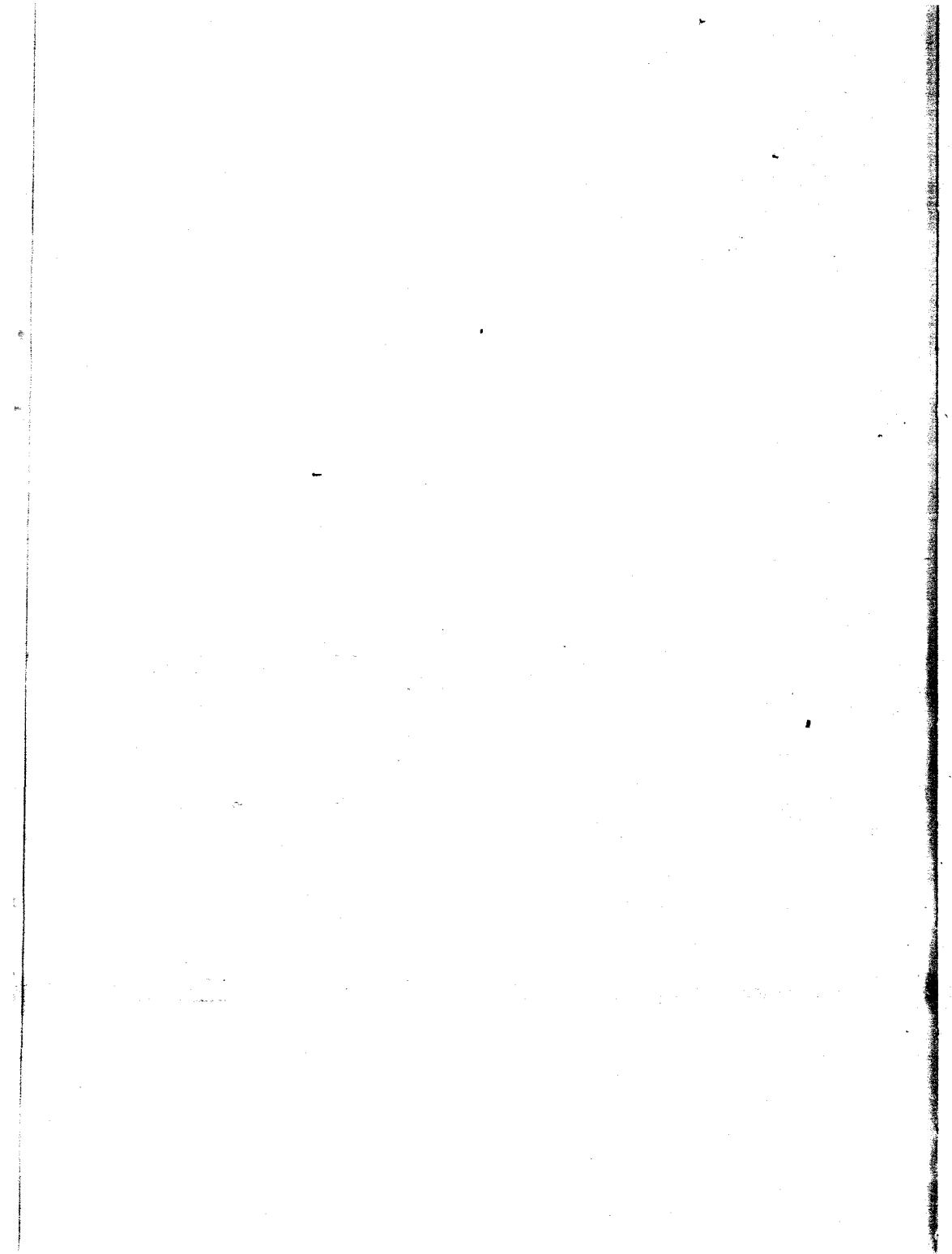
7 Cf. W.Haude, *Die Erde* 94 (1963) 281–312. This could stimulate "waves" of nomadic intrusions, cf. H.Klengel, *ArOr* 30 (1962) 585–596 and M.Liverani, *OA* 7 (1968) 77–89.

8 M.B.Rowton, *AS* 16 (Fs B.Landsberger), Chicago 1965, 370–382; M.B.Rowton, *JNES* 26 (1967) 261–277; M.W.Mikesell, *The Geographical Review* 59 (1969) 1–28 (deforestation of the Lebanon); J.P.Brown, *The Lebanon and Phoenicia*, 1, Beirut 1969 (ancient sources).

9 H.Klengel, *Handel und Händler im alten Orient*, Leipzig 1979, 61 ff. and 132 ff.; *SMEA* 16 (1975) 201–220; *EAZ* 19 (1978) 211–225; *SMEA* 24 (1984) 7–19.

millennium, i.e. the aceramic Neolithic.<sup>10</sup> There was a long continuity in dry-farming and settlement, evidenced by archaeological excavations, which at the same time reflect changes and discontinuities with regard to settled areas and settlement patterns, the emergence of urban centres ("Urban revolution"), and a development in productivity, which was connected with a progressing division of labour. Fortified towns and walled areas within them are known in Syria from the Chalcolithic, and the differentiation of society is corroborated by the type and the inventory of the individual houses. During the Early Bronze Age urban settlements increased in number and size; regional systems with a central place emerged, and some of the cities began to appear in textual sources (as Gubla and Ebla). A hierarchic structure not only between the centres, but also between them and their rural territory, was first indicated by archaeological evidence and later corroborated by textual witness. In the Early Bronze Age, all cultivable territories of Syria were settled by towns or villages, and the density of settlement might have contributed to conflicts between them — one of the factors favouring the emergence of a local aristocracy which exercised political power and was represented by a "king". The texts from the archives of Ebla in northern Syria give a first impression of this political development and of the early state.

10 A survey of the architectural remains of Syria from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age and their bearing on the knowledge of social development is given by E.Lindemeyer, *Untersuchungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte Syriens vom 8. bis Ende des 3. Jahrtausends* (Dissertation AdW der DDR, 1989), forthcoming.



# I. THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

## 1. First written evidence pertaining to Syria and the period of the Ebla archives

### a) Sources.

Prior to the archives of Ebla (cf. below) which concern the social and economic development at least in northern Syria, some textual information exists from Syria itself and from Egypt. The Dutch excavations on Jebel Aruda, on the western bank of the Euphrates, have discovered some clay tablets dating to the late Uruk period of Mesopotamia. They contain economic details but attest to the use of the Sumerian measuring system known from southern Mesopotamia, although they give no information as to the political situation.

- ▶ G.van Driel, in: J.Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, Leiden 1980, 75 ff; cf. G. van Driel – C. van Driel-Murray, *Akkadica* 12 (1979) 2–28. For the tablets G.van Driel, in: G.van Driel – Th.J.H.Krispijn – M.Stol – K.R.Veenhof (eds.), *Zikir šumim* (Fs. F.R.Kraus), Leiden 1982, 12–25.

Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions on 42 various objects from Gubla/Byblos mention the names of Egyptian pharaohs (4th to 6th dynasties) and of some officials. The earliest known name of a pharaoh is that of Chasechemui (end of the 2nd dynasty, c. 2670).<sup>1</sup> An offering disc bears an inscription of a scribe of the royal carpenters. From the 4th dynasty onwards (c. 2600 ff.) the names of Egyptian pharaohs appear more frequently in these inscriptions from the Syrian harbour town.

- ▶ M.Chéhab, *BMB* 22 (1969) 1–47; cf. W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 4 ff. and *UF* 11 (1979) 357–363.

Egyptian texts from the Nile valley itself refer to an expansion of Egyptian influence into the eastern delta during the period of the 5th and 6th dynasties (c. 2475–2195), and also to the import of timber, obviously from Gubla, since the time of the Thinites. The so-called Snofru annals (*Urk.* I 236) mention 40 ships bringing a special species of timber, evidently from the Lebanon. Syrian personal or place names are not yet given; they begin to appear during the time of the 6th dynasty.

- ▶ W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 12 ff. and *UF* 11 (1979) 357–363.

Besides this rather poor inscriptional evidence there is rich archaeological data, important in political history to determine the level of social development and cultural contacts. It indicates a rather dense settlement and a progressing

1 As already mentioned above (Introduction), all absolute dates concerning Egyptian history are according to J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Berlin 1984.

urbanisation, with special reference to northern and central Syria and the region on the Euphrates.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the archives of Ebla (Tell Mardikh), about 55 kilometres southwest of Halab/Aleppo and located in the fertile plain of North Syria, supplied for the first time a great many texts from Syria itself.

- For the excavations and their results cf. P. Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1977, cf. also G. Pettinato, Ebla. Un impero inciso nell'argilla, Milano 1979. The study of the texts brought about many corrections to both monographs, especially with regard to the historical evaluation of the material. Although the scholarly discussion is still going on, already hundreds of articles have attributed to the Ebla problem, cf. the current "Keilschriftbibliographie" (Orientalia) and the bibliography by M. Baldacci and F. Pomponio for the years 1966–1986, in: L. Cagni (ed.), Ebla 1975–1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici, Napoli 1987, 429–456. A revised, though not always convincing summary is given by G. Pettinato, Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia, Milano 1986; cf. now, most recently, the revised edition of P. Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989.

The cuneiform texts, c. 15000 tablets or fragments of tablets, were found in the years 1974–1976 in an architectural context now called "Palace G" at three findspots: In the northwest wing of this central administrative building (archive L.2586), in two rooms at the southern portico of the so-called "court of audience" (archives L.2712 and L.2769) and at the eastern portico of the same court (archive L.2875). At the southern periphery of Palace G a secondary depot of cuneiform tablets was discovered.<sup>3</sup> Once the tablets were kept on wooden shelves which were burnt and broken down during the catastrophe that put an end to this phase (Early Bronze IV A = Tell Mardikh II B 1) of the "acropolis". The date of the texts is still disputed and depends mainly on the date of the destruction of the "Palace G".<sup>4</sup> Graphic characteristics and also the contents of several literary compositions allow comparisons to be drawn with the texts excavated at Tell Abu Salabikh in southern Iraq, dated about 2600 B.C.<sup>5</sup> These texts give a *terminus post quem* for the Ebla material. On the other hand, there is an inscription of pharaoh Pepi I, which was discovered in the debris of "Palace

2 For the surveys cf. M. Liverani, MAIS 164, Roma 1965, 107–133; J. C. Courtois, Syria 50 (1973) 53–99 (Orontes valley); J. Matthers et al., Iraq 40 (1978) 119–162 (Afrin valley); R. Maxwell-Hyslop et al., PEQ 74 (1942) 8–40 (plain of Jabbul); J. and L. S. Braidwood, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, I: The Earlier Assemblages, Phases A–J, Chicago 1960; A. Archi – P. E. Pecorella – M. Salvini, Gaziantep e la sua regione, Roma 1971; A. Kuschke, in: SBA 3 (1966) 15–30 (Biqā'); R. Hachmann, in: SBA 4 (1970) 71–86 (Biqā'); A. Kuschke – S. Mittmann – U. Müller, Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa', Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976.

3 Cf. P. Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989, 222 ff.

4 A summary of the current discussion is given by P. Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989, 241 ff.

5 R. D. Biggs, Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh (OIP 99), Chicago – London 1974.

G".<sup>6</sup> The destruction of the "Palace G" and the end of the Ebla archives is now attributed to the military activities of Sargon of Akkad, although there is no definite proof of this at present.<sup>7</sup> Names of at least three rulers of Ebla, governing the town at the period of the archives, are mentioned in the texts; i.e. the Ebla archives seem to have covered not more than three generations.<sup>8</sup> For the time being it would be best to place the archives into the period about 2400 B.C.

The language of the texts, now called "Eblaic" or "Eblaite", represents an early step within the long development of Semitic languages and belongs to the north(west) branch of this family, related to Old Akkadian and later Amorite.<sup>9</sup> The system of syllabic cuneiform writing was borrowed from pre-Sargonic Mesopotamia, but a longer use or development of the script is not yet attested.<sup>10</sup>

The contents of the texts are — in the overwhelming majority — economic and administrative, and one can hypothesise that economic needs led to the reception and adaptation of a system of writing at Ebla.<sup>11</sup>

- G. Pettinato, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla* (MEE 1), Napoli 1979. The designation of the texts and their classification is to be only adopted with some reservation. Most of the texts characterized as "historical" or "historical-administrative" (cf. p. XXVIII f.) are better understood as administrative or economic texts; cf. also B. Kienast — W. Waetzoldt, in: C. H. Gordon

- 6 G. Scandone-Matthiae, *SEB* 1/3-4 (1979) 33-43 and in: H. J. Nissen — J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 125-130. The discrepancy between this inscription of Pepi I and the chronology of the Akkad period could be solved by a lowered chronology of the Akkad dynasty as proposed by J. Boese, *WZKM* 74 (1982) 33-55. A vase bearing an inscription of king Chefred (4th dynasty of Egypt), excavated in the context of the "Palace G", has no special importance for the discussion of the absolute date of the Ebla texts.
- 7 The first reference to Ebla in Mesopotamian texts comes from Sargon of Akkad; he mentions the capture of this city in one of his inscriptions (cf. below); cf. P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 241 ff. and 302, who proposes three possibilities for the date of the destruction: By an unknown ruler before Sargon, by Sargon of Akkad or by Naram-Sin of Akkad. Matthiae gives preference to Sargon; for the problem of dating the texts cf. also D. I. Owen — R. Veenker, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985*, Napoli 1987, 265 n. 11 (earlier date) and A. Archi, in: C. H. Gordon — G. A. Rendsburg — N. H. Winter (eds.), *Eblaica. Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*, I, Winona Lake 1987, 132-136; P. Matthiae, in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, 3, Gothenburg 1989, 163-169.
- 8 Cf. P. Michalowski, *JAOS* 105 (1985) 293-302, esp. 296 ("nor more than one generation") and A. Archi, *ARES* I, Roma 1988, 205-225; cf. also M. G. Biga — F. Pomponio, *NABU* 1987/106 (Ishar-Damu as a further "king" of Ebla).
- 9 L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981 P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the language of Ebla*, Firenze 1984. For the evidence of personal names cf. M. Krebern timer, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte*, Berlin 1988.
- 10 M. Krebern timer, *AfO* 32 (1985) 53-59; H. Klengel, in: H. Hauptmann — H. Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 245-251.
- 11 Cf. H. Klengel (note 10).

— G.A.Rendsburg (eds.), *Eblaïtica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaïte Language 2*, Winona Lake 1990, 31–77.

The edition of the Ebla texts is published by the Archaeological Mission of the University of Rome in the series ARET (*Archivi reali di Ebla. Testi*). At the same time the University of Naples is editing Ebla texts in the series MEE (*Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*). Until now there have appeared following volumes:

► In the series ARET:

A.Archi, *Testi amministrativi: Assegnazioni di tessuti* (Archivio L.2769), Roma 1985 (= ARET I); D.O.Edzard, *Verwaltungstexte verschiedenen Inhalts* (aus dem Archiv L.2769), Roma 1981 (= ARET II); A.Archi — M.G.Biga, *Testi amministrativi di vario contenuto* (Archivio L.2769, TM.75.G.3000–4101), Roma 1982 (= ARET III); M.G.Biga — L.Milano, *Testi amministrativi: Assegnazioni di tessuti* (Archivio L.2769), Roma 1984 (= ARET IV); D.O.Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes* (aus dem Archiv L.2769), Roma 1984 (= ARET V); A.Archi, *Testi amministrativi: Registros di metalli e tessuti*, Roma 1988 (= ARET VII); E. Sollberger, *Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles* (L.2752), Roma 1986 (= ARET VIII); L.Milano, *Testi amministrativi: Assegnazioni di prodotti alimentari*, Roma 1990 (ARET IX).

► In the series MEE (texts partly identical with those in ARET): G.Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L.2769, Parte I*, Napoli 1980 (= MEE 2); G.Pettinato, *Testi lessicali monolingui della biblioteca L.2769*, Napoli 1981 (= MEE 3); G.Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L.2769, Parte I: Trasliterazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE*, Napoli 1982 (= MEE 4).

Beside these series, many texts are already dealt with in articles published in journals, especially in SEB, OA and MARI. Because of this system of publication, a concordance was necessary:

► S.G.Beld — W.Hallo — P.Michalowski, *The Tablets of Ebla. Concordance and Bibliography*, Winona Lake 1984; cf. M.Baldacci — F.Pomponio, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici*, Napoli 1987, 429–456.

Gubla/Byblos has furnished inscriptions mentioning the names and officials of pharaohs of that period, especially dating from the 6th dynasty. An inscription of Pepi I was discovered on an alabaster lid in Ebla.

► M.Chéhab, BMB 22 (1969) 6–21; G.Scandone-Matthiae, SEB I/3–4 (1979) 33–43 and in: H.-J.Nissen — J.Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 125–130.

The textual evidence from early dynastic Mesopotamia does not yet include Syrian toponyms so far, although it seems clear that goods from southern Mesopotamia reached Ebla and other places in northern Syria (and Anatolia). This lack of relevant records could be explained by the system of trade relations, mediated by a series of central places. Each of these centres were oriented towards the preceding prominent station before.<sup>12</sup> At the very end of the early dynastic period Lugalzagesi,

12 Cf. C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, JAOS 92 (1972) 222–229 and H. Klengel, in: H. Hauptmann — H. Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 245–251.



ensi of Umma and king of Uruk,<sup>13</sup> boasts to have subdued all lands between the "Lower" and the "Upper" Sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea).

► E.Sollberger – J.-R.Kupper, *IRSA 154 f.*, cf. also J.C.Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I: Presargonic Inscriptions*, New Haven 1986, 94 f.

The archaeological evidence from that time, mostly from sites as Tell Mardikh/Ebla and Gubla, clearly points to connections of northern and central Syria with Mesopotamia and Egypt.<sup>14</sup> Objects of Egyptian origin continue in the material recovered from Gubla and also appear at Ebla, where they met with those coming from Mesopotamia.

### b) *Outline history.*

The scarce and not very conclusive evidence from the periods before the archives of Ebla gives, as far as political history is concerned, only a slight glimpse of the situation in Syria. The textual material corroborates the impression gained from archaeological investigations: Syria was undergoing a rather rapid development of its economy, at least at certain central places. Material from the Euphrates region, especially from Jebel Aruda, points to contacts with the Uruk culture in southern Mesopotamia; this seems also true for Ebla, which was a settled place from the time about 3500 B. C.<sup>15</sup> The land was already densely populated, as might also be concluded also from the hundreds of place names mentioned in the Ebla texts later on. There were trading and cultural contacts with the neighbouring areas and with Egypt, the latter focusing on the coastal region and its foremost harbour, Gubla. Egypt was attracted by the wealth of the coastal mountains in cedar, fir and pine wood.<sup>16</sup> The discovery of an Egyptian axe in the valley of Nahr Ibrahim, the most important entrance into the area of forests from the seaside, points to troops of Egyptian wood-cutters working in the Lebanon during the time of the 4th dynasty.<sup>17</sup> Syrian contact with Egypt and Mesopotamia is also shown by artifacts and architecture from various sites.<sup>18</sup> Of

- 13 For the texts pertaining to the reign of Lugalzagesi cf. A. Westenholz, *RIA VII/1-2* (1987) 155–157 (with further literature).
- 14 M. Saghih, *Byblos in the Third Millennium: A Reconsideration of the Stratigraphy and Study of Cultural Connections*, Warminster 1983, 104 ff.; F. Pinckock, *MARI 4* (1985) 85–92; P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989.
- 15 Cf. P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 329–334.
- 16 A summarizing survey of Egyptian – Western Asiatic economic relations until the end of the Middle Kingdom is given by J. MacDonald, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* II/1 (1972) 72–98. During the last two decades the relevant material has increased, especially from Syrian sites.
- 17 W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 27. For objects found at Gubla, which belonged to the pharaohs of the 4th to 6th dynasties, cf. K. Prag, *Levant 18* (1986) 59–74.
- 18 M. Saghih, *Byblos in the Third Millennium BC. A Reconstruction of the Stratigraphy and a Study of the Cultural Connections*, Warminster 1983; R. J. and L. S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, I*, Chicago 1960, 270 and 371; V. T. Mathias and P. J. Parr, *Levant 21* (1989) 13–29; P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 300 ff.

special interest are the lapislazuli objects which were discovered in both Syria (Ebla) and Egypt.<sup>19</sup> They could be used as an argument for the hypothesis of the emergence of long-distance trade routes, having their origin in Afghanistan and crossing Iran, Mesopotamia and Syria.<sup>20</sup> It was possibly this integration into an inter-regional exchange system that enabled several Syrian centres to flourish and helped to accelerate their development from small settlements into urban centres, protected by fortification walls, administrated centrally and with a market inside the wall. The results of this progress were seizable judging by the evidence coming from Ebla, although it should be borne in mind that Ebla obviously played an outstanding role in Syria.

The rather short period documented by the Ebla texts does not allow a full description of political developments. It is even difficult to give an impression of the political situation as reflected in the texts. Nevertheless, the epigraphic material of that time (i.e. about 2400 B.C.), although not fully edited so far, points to some facts of interest for political history. Ebla is clearly documented as an administrative and economic centre at least for inland northern Syria.<sup>21</sup> It was in control of a section of the trade route between Mesopotamia and central Syria, had developed a specialized handicraft and disposed of the products of efficient agricultural and stock-breeding systems. Of special importance was, as reflected by the texts, the production and processing of wool for textiles.

As to the geographical horizon of the texts, we have to differentiate between the evidence of the texts originating from Ebla itself, mostly of administrative or economic content, and some literary compositions in a Mesopotamian tradition. The first category, pertaining also to political history, reaches to upper and central Mesopotamia, the southern slopes of the Taurus, the Syrian coastal region (although the evidence for harbour places is still under discussion) and the area of Hama.<sup>22</sup> The second category is closely connected with a scribal tradition as reflected in texts from Tell Abu Salabikh and the "school" of Kish.<sup>23</sup>

19 J. C. Payne, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 58–61; F. Pinnock, *MARI* 4 (1985) 85–92.

20 Cf. the outline given by H. Klengel, *Handel und Händler im alten Orient*, Leipzig 1979, 22 ff.

21 On the economic foundations cf., most recently, P. Matthiae, in: H. Hauptmann – H. Watzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 75–80; J.-P. Grégoire – J. Renger, *ib.* 211–224; P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 266 ff. – Economic contacts of Ebla with central Anatolia (Kanes) are supposed by V. Davidović, *AcSum* 11 (1989) 1–26.

22 For localizations cf. P. Garelli, in: P. Matthiae – I. M. Diakonoff (eds.), *Drevnyaya Ebla*, Moskva 1985 (manuscript: 1980), 280–296; A. Archi, *SEB* II/1 (1980) 1–16 and IV (1981) 1–17; A. Archi, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, Firenze 1984, 229–233 and *ARET* I (1985) 175. For the references to Harran cf. A. Archi, *UF* 20 (1988) 1–8.

23 Cf. G. Pettinato, *Or* 47 (1978) 50–73; I. J. Gelb, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981, 9–73. In these Ebla texts there could appear also some places of the Syrian coast, cf. the proposals presented by G. Pettinato, in: *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di studi fenici e punici*, Roma 1983, I 107–118; most of these toponyms are evidenced only by the so-called "geographical atlas" (*Or* 47, 1978, 50 ff.).

The administrative and economic texts record the names of a number of "lords" (en, Akkad. *malikum*) of various settlements. As far as Ebla is concerned, an offerings list (ARET VII 150)<sup>24</sup> mentions the names of such en's of Ebla who governed the city before and during the period of the archives. This makes it possible to establish a succession which is not *a priori* identical with a sequence of generations: Abur-Lim, Agur-Lim, Ibi-Damu (Yibbi'-Damu), Ba-Damu, Enar-Damu (Yinhar-Damu), Ishar-Malik, Kum-Damu (Kun-Damu), Adub-Damu (Ya'dub-Damu), Igrish-Halam (Yigrish-Halam), Irkab-Damu (Yirkab-Damu); evidence indicates Ishar-Damu was another en of Ebla.<sup>25</sup> The "dynasty" of Ebla rulers ("kings") obviously started in the time before the archives; with the exception of the last three names they are not mentioned in the administrative or economic texts of the city.

The texts of the archives of Ebla reveal a series of synchronisms with the governors of other towns or villages of Syria and upper Mesopotamia. Of importance are the synchronisms with rulers of Mari<sup>26</sup>, such as Iplul-Il, NI-zi, Enna-Dagan, Iku-(I)shar and Hida'ar, with the rulers of Emar, such as Ib-Damu, Ishgi-Damu, Rusi(EN-zi)-Damu and the "queen" (*malikum*)<sup>27</sup>, i.e. Tisha-Lim (wife of Rusi-Damu) and Tibur-Lim.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the inscription of Pepi I of Egypt, discovered in "Palace G" in Ebla, could be connected with the period of the archives.<sup>29</sup>

Most references to the en of a town or village are given without the personal name. Although the title is often translated as "king"<sup>30</sup>, it is still unclear if Ebla was already a kingdom. The fact that there was also a council of "elders"<sup>31</sup>, attested in the Ebla texts for more than 40 settlements and obviously sharing the power with the en and other responsible persons, could support the view that the en was the head of entities developing in the form of city-states but was no monarch. Beside the en and the

24 A. Archi, ZA 76 (1986) 223-217.

25 ArruLUM (formerly read *Arennum*), L/Ebrium and Ibbi-Zikir are not mentioned with the title of an en, cf. P. Michalowski, JAOS 105 (1985) 293-302 (who accepted at least Ebrium and Ibbi-Zikir) and A. Archi, ARES I (1988) 205-225 (who cancelled also Ebrium and Ibbi-Zikir). For the addition of Ishar-Damu see M. G. Biga - F. Pomponio, NABU 1987/106.

26 A. Archi, MARI 4 (1985) 47-51.

27 For the function of the *malikum* of Ebla and other cities cf. P. Mander, in: H. Hauptmann - H. Waetzoldt (eds.), Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla, Heidelberg 1988, 261-266.

28 A. Archi, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), Studies on the language of Ebla, Firenze 1984, 247 f.; cf. also G. Pettinato, Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia, Milano 1986, 348 ff. The evidence for Emar in the Ebla archives is compiled and discussed by A. Archi, MARI 6 (1990) 21-38.

29 Cf. P. Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989, 246 f. and in: P. Åström (ed.), High, Middle or Low, 3, Gothenburg 1989, 163-169.

30 A. Archi, MARI 5 (1987) 37-52. P. Michalowski, JAOS 105 (1985) 297 prefers a designation (and function) as "chief administrator".

31 G. Pettinato, Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia, Milano 1986, 131 ff., refers to a "tribal type" of the society of Ebla and a rule executed by the "elders". For an interpretation of this council as an instrument of government in early societies cf. H. Klengel, in: M. Lebeau - Ph. Talon (eds.), Reflets des deux fleuves (Fs A. Finet), Leuven 1989, 61-65.

"elders" other functionaries are mentioned, such as the lugal, the mashkim, the ugula (sometimes representing a village), and others.<sup>32</sup>

Ebla was the economic and administrative centre for an area which was perhaps controlled politically. This region should not be assumed as identical with the geographical horizon of the texts, although deliveries to Ebla from places rather far away are mentioned. Messengers went to and fro and groups of merchants were on the routes between the towns and villages. But it is difficult to decide whether there was a political dependency on Ebla or not. In any case, the designation of Ebla as an "empire" would be a misinterpretation of the textual evidence.<sup>33</sup> A "kingdom" of Ebla could have comprised a series of places and territories in northern Syria between the Euphrates and the Orontes valley, the southern slopes of the Taurus and a line to be drawn somewhere in central Syria.<sup>34</sup>

There is little evidence for the political relations of Ebla with other Syrian or Mesopotamian centres; Egypt is not mentioned at all. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the period covered by the archives is very short and that the texts are mainly concerned with administrative and economic affairs. The most important texts pertaining to political history published until now have been the subject of controversial discussion. TM.75.G.2367 was treated several times and interpreted as a military bulletin from Ebla (G. Pettinato) or an introducing letter from Mari (D. O. Edzard).<sup>35</sup> The text refers to military operations of the rulers of Mari in the Euphrates region and an expansion of the influence of Mari upstream as far as Emar and Hazuwan/Hashum, before Ebla could regain its influence there. From another text we learn that a daughter of Irkab-Damu, the en of Ebla, was given into marriage to the ruler of Emar — an early proof of a diplomatic practice in order to strengthen

32 Cf. G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 131 ff.; J.-P. Grégoire, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981, 379–399; H. Waetzoldt, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli 1984, 423–437; F. Pomponio, *Aula orientalis* 2 (1984) 127–135; A. Archi, *MARI* 5 (1987) 37–52.

33 Against an Ebla "empire" — at least in a political sense — cf. already H. Klengel, in: P. Matthiae — I. M. Diakonoff (eds.), *Drevnyaya Ebla*, Moskva 1985 [1980], 211 f.; P. Michalowski, *JAOS* 105 (1985) 301. The original idea of an Ebla empire is now also revised by G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, but was put forth anew by M. C. Astour, in: H. Hauptmann — H. Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 139–158.

34 G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 239 ff. and 351 ff. He refers to about 800 place names to be located within the area controlled by Ebla, but the texts give no information on the type of this control. Cf. also P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 260.

35 G. Pettinato, *OA* 19 (1980) 231–245 (= *MEE* 1, 1979, No. 1806), cf. *Akkadica* 2 (1977) 20–29 and B. Kienast, *OA* 19 (1980) 247–261. A new interpretation was then offered by D. O. Edzard, *SEB* IV (1981) 89–97; cf. B. Kienast, *OA* 23 (1984) 19–32 and P. Michalowski, *JAOS* 105 (1985) 299, also G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 395 ff. and L. Viganò, *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 38 (1988) 227–246.

the ties between dynasties.<sup>36</sup> The texts demonstrate the vital interest taken by Ebla in the area beyond the Euphrates, i.e. following the trade route coming from Mesopotamia. This is also indicated by TM.75.G.2420, considered to be a treaty between Ebla and Ashur<sup>37</sup> or between Ebla and Abarsal, a place or territory different from Ashur.<sup>38</sup> The treaty concerns trading activities of merchants from Ebla in the area of the Euphrates or the Habur.<sup>39</sup> The text mentions a possible killing of merchants or messengers, the extradition of fugitives and the verdict to give cattle or people to countries other than Ebla thus doing harm to the north Syrian centre. Ebla is obviously in a stronger position here than its partner. Tensions between Ebla and other centres are reflected in TM.75.G.2561, a document of "political espionage" (according to G. Pettinato).<sup>40</sup> The protagonists of the text are the ruler (en) of 'Adu (perhaps east of the Euphrates),<sup>41</sup> a place also mentioned in the Abarsal/Ashur treaty, a person of Mari and the city of Mari, perhaps represented by the elders. After a correspondence with Mari, which tries to throw a bad light upon Ebla, the ruler of 'Adu comes to the conclusion, that "the friendship of Ebla is not good, better to establish good friendship with Mari" (again according to the interpretation by G. Pettinato). It seems noteworthy that the tablet was among the texts of the Ebla archives. The Ebla texts also furnish about twenty year-names, although it is difficult to connect them with the period of reign of a certain ruler; they point, e.g., to the defeat or death of a king of Mari, the end of the rule of Irkab-Damu and a defeat of Mari.<sup>42</sup>

Thus the texts of Ebla provide some kind of spotlight on the political situation at least in northern Syria about 2400 B.C. As the editing of texts is going on, all

- 36 Cf. A. Archi, in: C. H. Gordon – G. A. Rendsburg – N. H. Winter (eds.), *Eblaïtica. Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaïte Language*, Winona Lake 1987, 115–124.
- 37 G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 389 ff.; B. Kienast, in: H. Hauptmann – H. Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 231–243. Cf. also M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, Società, Economia*. Roma – Bari 1988, 205 ff.
- 38 E. Sollberger, *SEB* III/9–10 (1980) 129–155; cf. W. G. Lambert, in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985*, Napoli 1987, 353–364. J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 6 (1990) 46 n. 37, takes into consideration an identity of Abarsal with Abatum of the Mari texts, which is to be localized somewhere between Emar and Tuttul (perhaps at Qal'at Jabar). A. Archi, in: M. Lebeau – Ph. Talon (eds.), *Reflets des Deux Fleuves* (Fs. A. Finet), Leuven 1989, 15–19, prefers a location of Abarsal in the Habur area not far from the Euphrates.
- 39 Cf. A. Archi, *ARET* I (1985) 220 and in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the language of Ebla*, Firenze 1984, 232. The location of the territory in question is still uncertain, but it is not to be excluded that it belonged to Ashur; cf. also M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, Società, Economia*, Roma – Bari 1988, 205.
- 40 G. Pettinato, *MEE* 1 (1979) No. 2000, cf. *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 398 ff.
- 41 A. Archi, *ARET* I (1985) 221.
- 42 P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 254. Military conflicts are indicated by some texts pointing to campaigns of (against?) Armi, cf. P. Fronzaroli, *Miscellanea Eblaïtica* 2 (1989) 22 ff.

historical evaluations given up to now have to be considered as provisional and open to additions and corrections. But it may be considered as almost certain that there was social and political development in Syria during that time, leading to the formation of the earliest states with changes in the political rule towards monarchy and a political dominance of some central places, as, e.g., Ebla.<sup>43</sup> This city was surely the most prominent economic and political entity in inland Syria, and its main orientation was toward the east, i.e. the region of the Euphrates and beyond this river. During the reign of the last two "kings" of Ebla there was a decay of the power of Mari and a political and economic predominance of Ebla in the region from the Amanus and the northern Lebanon in the west to the Euphrates and the Balikh in the east and the southern slopes of the Taurus in the north to the plain of Homs. It seems that close economic contacts were established with Egypt in this period.<sup>44</sup> If we take the evidence for a "lord" (en) as a hint to a development of a series of other centres too, then the number and provisional location of these places point to the tendency towards a state organisation in all the northern sections of the "Fertile Crescent".<sup>45</sup> Most of them seem to be smaller towns or villages in northern Syria, along the Euphrates and in the dry-farming area of upper Mesopotamia, thus indicating a region of urbanisation which provide evidence for later texts.

As far as southern Syria is concerned, there are no undisputed locations and identifications of places to be made south of the plain of Homs. Ugarit, on the Syrian coast, already existed, as has been shown by archaeological investigations. It is mentioned in the geographical treatise from Ebla, a text standing in a Mesopotamian tradition (cf. the texts from Tell Abu Salabikh), but not yet in the economic texts published so far.<sup>46</sup> The identification of place names south of Ugarit — such as Batruna, Arwad, Irqata, Sumur, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyre<sup>47</sup> — is not yet definitely proven. This is also the case with Gubla, a city probably having mediated between Ebla and Egypt, albeit the reading of DU-lu in Ebla texts is not to be equated with Gublu/Gubla with certainty. Pharaoh Pepi I, whose name is mentioned in the inscription on

43 H. Klengel, in: H. Hauptmann — H. Watzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 245–251; also in: P. Vavroušek — V. Souček (eds.), *Šulmu. Papers on the Ancient Near East presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries*, Prague 1988, 145–160. The society of Ebla shows strong elements of the primary society and relics of a tribal structure; cf. already G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Un impero inciso nell'argilla*, Milano 1979, 83, and — more recently — also A. Archi, *ZA* 76 (1986) 213–217.

44 P. Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 258 ff.

45 G. Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 373 ff. enumerates more than 70 "principalities" attested in the Ebla texts; for a provisional list of the en of various settlements cf. A. Archi, *ARET* I (1985) 224 f. For archaeological evidence which could be interpreted in this sense cf. H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B. C.*, Guilford 1986.

46 Except, Ugaratum in *ARET* VII 71 could be identified with Ugarit. In any case, the missing or little evidence for Ugarit in the written tradition seems remarkable. Cf. A. Archi, *RA* 81 (1987) 185 f.

47 Cf. G. Pettinato, *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di studi fenici e punici*, Roma 1983, 108.

a vase discovered in Ebla (cf. above, sources), is represented by inscriptions from Gubla too.<sup>48</sup> As far as relations between Syria and Anatolia are concerned, the archives of Ebla provide no clear evidence.<sup>49</sup>

## 2. Syria from the Ebla archives to the end of the 3rd millennium

### a) Sources.

The centuries following the breakdown of Ebla and the destruction of the archives of "Palace G" are often characterized as a "dark age" – at least so far as the textual evidence is concerned. With the development of a strong territorial (regional) state in Mesopotamia, however, new sources of information began to appear in connection with military campaigns proceeding as far as Syrian territory. The expansion of the state of Akkad brought about written historical records, and the campaigns of the Mesopotamian kings to Syria became part of a tradition often retained over a period of many centuries in personal memories.

The inscriptions of the kings of Akkad, either handed down to us as contemporary documents or as later copies, give an impression of what was going on in Syria during the time when Syria was within the horizon of these texts. As far as the Akkad period is concerned, this means in the first line the reigns of Sargon (2340–2284) and Naram-Sin (2259–2223).

- I.J. Gelb – B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (FAOS 7), Freiburg i.Br. 1990, cf. E. Sollberger – J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes*, Paris 1971 (= IRSA); H. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963) 1–81 and also R. Borger, *TUAT* I/4 (1984) 354 f. A new treatment of two Old Babylonian copies pertaining to a campaign of Naram-Sin upstream the Euphrates is given by B.R. Foster, *JANES* 14 (1982) 27–36. For the year dates of Akkad kings, one perhaps concerning Syria (Shar-kalisharri), cf. A. Ungnad, *RIA* II (1938) 133. For a text of the Neo-Assyrian

48 M. Chéhab, *BMB* 22 (1969) 1–47. For the relations between Egypt and the Levant before the end of the middle kingdom cf. J. MacDonald, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* II/1 (1972) 72–98; especially for the contacts Egypt–Ebla cf. G. Scandone-Matthiae, in: H. Hauptmann – H. Watzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 67–73.

49 A. Archi, in: K. Emre et alii (eds.), *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East* (Fs. T. Özgüç) Ankara 1989, 11–14; for archaeological material pointing to contacts cf. T. Özgüç, in: J. V. Canby et alii (eds.), *Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development* (Fs. M. Mellink), Madison 1986, 31–47.

period describing the empire of Sargon (KAV 92 etc.), cf. now A.K.Grayson, *AfO* 25 (1974–1977) 56–64.<sup>50</sup>

After the end of the Akkad dynasty and the Gutian invasion the first Mesopotamian evidence for Syria comes from Girsu/Lagash. The trading activities of the Lagash dynasty (2nd dynasty of Lagash), especially those of Gudea (c. 2144–2124?), are reflected in a series of texts pertaining to imports, including goods from Syrian regions upstream the Euphrates.

- A.Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften des Gudea von Lagasch* (AnOr 30), Rom 1966; for Ebla see G.Pettinato, *RIA* V/1–2 (1976) 9 f.

The period of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur has left a vast amount of economic texts. Some of them – stemming from cities as Lagash (Girsu), Drehim and Nippur – point to the continuation of trade relations with Syria. It is undoubtedly due to these contacts that a vocabulary of Ur III type was found at Gubla.

- E.Sollberger, *AfO* 19 (1959–1960) 120–122 (republished as *MVN* 5 (1978) No.11, cf. L.Cagni, *OA* 22 [1983] 90 f.); G.Dossin, *MUSJ* 45 (1969) 241–255. For Ur III references to Syria resp. Ebla cf. G.Pettinato, *MAIS* 1967–1968, Roma 1972, 30 ff. and *RIA* IV/1–2 (1976) 9 f., also: Ebla. *Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 386 ff. Cf. also the relevant place names in D.O.Edzard – G.Farber, *RGTC* 2 (1974).<sup>51</sup>

Beside the references in economic texts there is also a royal inscription of Shu-Sin (2036–2028), handed down to us as an Old Babylonian copy of an original monumental inscription, mentioning Syrian place names.

- M.Civil, *JCS* 21 (1967) 37–38, cf. I.Kärki, *Die Königsinschriften der Dritten Dynastie von Ur*, Helsinki 1986, 130 f.

The Egyptians have left some short hieroglyphic inscriptions at Gubla mentioning kings of the late Old Empire; the contact of Egypt with Syria is documented by archaeological material too.<sup>52</sup>

- 50 The reference in an inscription of the Akkad period from Susa to Nirabu/Neirab in the plain of Aleppo is questionable, cf. M.Lambert, *RA* 59 (1965) 177–182 (Nirrab); cf. E.Sollberger, in: *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East* (Fs.I.M.Diakonoff), Warminster 1982, 345–348 (Neo-Babylonian copy of an inscription of Sharkalisharri) and B.R.Foster, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 25–44 (Nirrab in Martu and Mount Basar/Jebel Bishri). For some Old Akkadian originals see D.R.Frayne, *ARRIM* 2 (1984) 23–27 and – with a preference of Naram-Sin as author of the text now handed down also in an Old Babylonian copy – H.Neumann, *JCS* (forthcoming). For a date formula of Naram-Sin pointing to a campaign to the Lebanon in order to cut cedar trees cf. A.Westenholtz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia*, Copenhagen 1987, 39 ff. (no.16).
- 51 Ebla and Urshu also appear in other publications of Ur III documents, cf., e.g., M.Heltzer, *AUON* 35 (1975) 301–313; T.Gomi, *Orient* 16 (1980) 1–110 (no.7); D.I.Owen, *JCS* 33 (1981) 250; M.Sigrist, *AUCT* I (1984) no.494; D.I.Owen – R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla* 1975–1985, Napoli 1987, 263–291, etc.
- 52 Important evidence comes from Gubla, but there is also material from other places; the excavations done at Qama (Mishrife) in central Syria have evidenced Mesopotamian influence during the Ur III period, cf. R.du Mesnil du Buisson, *Syria* 11 (1930) 146–163.



- M.Chéhab, BMB 22 (1969) 1–47, esp. 16 ff.; cf. W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 21 ff. and M.Saghieh, *Byblos in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Warminster 1983, 129 ff.

(b) *Outline history.*

The source material for the period under discussion is not yet sufficient even for a sketchy political history. The only certainties are: the expansion of the Akkad kingdom touched upon Syrian territory, there were contacts between Gudea and the IIIrd dynasty of Ur and Syria at least on an economic level, there were changes as to the ethnic composition of the Syrian population. The texts do not reflect the existence of stronger political centres on Syrian territory, which could have opposed the conquests of Mesopotamian kings. Places such as Urshu and Ebla or Gubla continued to exist, and archaeological evidence has proved that Qatna was the central place in the plain of Homs. Moreover, there are many sites in northern and central Syria with relics datable into the late 3rd millennium.

Sargon of Akkad (2340–2284) mentions Mari, Yarmuti<sup>53</sup> and Ebla in connection with his campaign to the “cedar forest” and the “mountain with precious metal”, i.e., in all probability, the Amanus and the Taurus.<sup>54</sup> Ebla was part of the lands claimed by Sargon to have been given to him by the god Dagan, whom he worshipped in Tuttul, and which were summarized as “Upper Country” (*matum alitum*, cf. RGTC 1, 120). The campaign of Sargon is now considered to have brought about the end of the “Palace G” of EB IVA Ebla = Tell Mardikh II B1.<sup>55</sup> But it should be kept in mind that this is only a possible chronological coincidence that can be used as an argument.<sup>56</sup> In any case, the conquests of Sargon did not mean an incorporation of Syrian territory into the state of Akkad; up to now we have no evidence for an attempt to secure the overlordship by administrative measures.<sup>57</sup> The claim of Sargon to have ruled all lands between the “Lower Sea” and the “Upper Sea”, as expressed in later (Old Babylonian) copies of a text,<sup>58</sup> corresponds with a tradition that he conquered the

53 Perhaps northwest of Mari according to D.O.Edzard – G.Farber – E.Sollberger, RGTC 1 (1977) 76 and GS II 114 n.8, but this location is based only on the evidence of this text.

54 E.Sollberger – J.-R.Kupper, IRSA (1971) 99; I.J.Gelb – B.Kienast, FAOS 7 (1990) 164.

55 Cf., most recently, P.Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 241 ff. and in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, 3, Gothenburg 1989, 163–169.

56 For another view cf. M.Liverani, *Antico Oriente*, Roma – Bari 1988, 234, who considers the mention of Ebla in the inscription of Sargon only as an indication for the domination of Sargon on the trade network centred around Ebla, not as a hint to a conquest of this city. The archaeological evidence from Ebla points to the fact that the city was obviously not left after the destruction of the “palace” with its archives, at least not for a longer time; cf. P.Matthiae, *Ebla. Un impero ritrovato*, Torino 1989, 125 f.

57 “Imperial” aspects are reflected in the archives of the Akkad period, cf. B.R.Foster, in: K.R.Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, 46–52. But this does not mean a real domination of the kings of Akkad on Syria.

58 H.Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963) 71 (b 1, 6 and 10).

"Westlands" during his 11th year of reign<sup>59</sup> and that he even made a sea voyage to Cyprus. It is also known from later tradition that — as reflected in an epic text — Sargon undertook a campaign across the Taurus as far as Purushhanda in Anatolia, in order to support Mesopotamian mercantile interests.<sup>60</sup> A Neo-Assyrian text (probably from the time of Sargon II) mentions that all the countries between the Persian Gulf (Tilmun) and Magan on the one side, and Kaptara (Crete) and Anaku (Cyprus?) on the other, submitted to Sargon of Akkad three times.<sup>61</sup> A threefold conquest is also recorded in a late Assyrian source.<sup>62</sup> It might also be considered as a hint to a long-living "historical" tradition, connected with the success of Sargon in Syria that Hattushili I of Hatti (17th century B.C.) recalls in his bilingual inscription KBo X 1–2 (CTH 4) the crossing of the Euphrates by Sargon.<sup>63</sup> As his text then refers to the conquest of Hahhum,<sup>64</sup> it becomes clear that Hattushili I thought of a crossing of the river by Sargon in the north, but this and the direction of crossing remain uncertain. Another problem is, whether Sargon penetrated into Syria as far as the Lebanon and the adjacent coast or not. Here we have to wait for further material.<sup>65</sup>

The successor of Sargon, Rimush (2284–2274) was also proud to govern all countries between the "Upper and Lower Sea".<sup>66</sup> But there is still no proof that he really ruled Syrian territory; maybe this is only a topic taken over from Sargon. Rimush's influence appears in upper Mesopotamia, at least as is indicated by the archaeological material from Tell Brak.<sup>67</sup>

The situation becomes much clearer at the time of Naram-Sin (2259–2223). He attributes to himself the title of a ruler of the land "Subartum" in northern Mesopotamia<sup>68</sup> as far as the "Cedar Forest", which is defined as the Amanus.<sup>69</sup> Naram-Sin boasts to have been the first to subdue Arman and Ebla; he took the ruler of Armanum, Rish-Adad, as prisoner. A ruler of Ebla is not mentioned; this could be an

59 Ibid. 5 (chronicle King BM 26472), cf. A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley 1975, 152 ff.

60 Ibid. 6 f.

61 Cf. A.Malamat, in: *Assyriological Studies* 16 (Fs. B.Landsberger), Chicago 1965, 365 f.

62 H.Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963) 6.

63 H.G.Güterbock, *JCS* 18 (1964) 1–6.

64 Most of the literature mentioned in *RGTC* 1 (1977) 68, 3 (1980) 86 and 6 (1978) 61 f. places Hahhum/Hahha west of the Euphrates in southeastern Anatolia; M.Liverani, *OA* 27 (1988) 165–172 proposes Samsat or Lidar Hüyük. The town was on the ancient route between Ashur and Kanesh, cf. Kh.Nashef, *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelsniederlassungen*, Wiesbaden 1987, passim.

65 Cf. A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley 1975, 235.

66 E.Sollberger — J.-R.Kupper, *IRSA* 104; cf. H.Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963) 66 (b 9).

67 M.E.Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947) 27; J.Oates, in: S.Eichler — M.Wäfler — D.Warburton, *Tall al-Hamidiya 2*, Freiburg/Schweiz — Göttingen 1990, 133–147 (esp.144 ff.). In 1986 eleven cuneiform tablets from the Akkadian period were discovered.

68 Cf. D.O.Edzard — G.Farber — E.Sollberger, *RGTC* 1 (1977) 146 f. and B.Groneberg, *RGTC* 3 (1980) 224 ff.

69 E.Sollberger — J.-R.Kupper, *IRSA* (1971) 106–108; cf. H.Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963) 1–82, esp.72 ff. (b 4, 5); I.J.Gelb — B.Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 50 (date), 87, 97, 110 f., 255 ff.

*argumentum e silentio* for the supposition that there was no ruler at all during this time.<sup>70</sup> That Armanum should be identified with Halab/Aleppo<sup>71</sup> becomes doubtful if we follow a proposal to place this "large, triply circumvalated city" on the route between Sippar and Ebla and on the Euphrates or one of its main tributaries.<sup>72</sup> Consequently, then, it would be difficult to identify Ullsum, mentioned by Naram-Sin as an outpost of his conquests, with Ullaza on the Syrian coast north of Tripoli.<sup>73</sup>

Sharkalisharri (2223–2198) mentions in one of his date formulas that he was victorious against the MAR.TU/Amurru in the region of Basar/Jebel Bishri, and he boasts to have done the same as his famous forerunners, i.e. to have reached the Amanus and the Upper Sea.<sup>74</sup> The historical interpretation of this date is not quite clear. It could point to a conflict in connection with the expansion of the Akkad empire or — more probable — a beating back of semi-nomads penetrating into the cultivated area of Mesopotamia.

Thus an at least temporary control of Syrian territory by Sargon and Naram-Sin is indicated by the texts. But it remains unproved that some archaeological evidence at Syrian sites is connected with the campaigns of the kings of Akkad. If the military activities of Sargon brought about the end of the dominant role of Ebla in northern Syria, this would have been one of the most important events in the history of this period. During the following centuries of the 3rd millennium Urshu and other centres had some importance in economy and trade, as is documented by texts coming from southern Mesopotamia. The 2nd dynasty of Lagash, represented especially by Gudea (c. 2144–2124?), received timber from the Amanus (via Ebla and Urshu), stones from Basalla (Jebel Bishri), and textiles from Ebla.<sup>75</sup> The IIIrd dynasty of Ur (2111–2003) was in close economic — and perhaps some political — contact with such centres as Urshu and Ebla.<sup>76</sup> Also mentioned are Mukish at the mouth of

70 P.Matthiae, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, 3, Gothenburg 1989, 165: "The only explanation might be that Naram-Sin was the first Mesopotamian king who used the place name of Ebla in order to point to the region and to the territory that town had dominated until a few years before rather to the town itself".

71 Cf., most recently, E.Sollberger, *ARET VIII* (1986) 40, where Armi of the Ebla texts is equated with Armanum, which is considered to be Aleppo. Cf. also D.O.Edzard — G.Farber — E.Sollberger, *RGTC 1* (1977) 18 and D.O.Edzard — G.Farber, *RGTC 2* (1974) 15. The equation of Armi with Halab is doubted by W.G.Lambert, *MARI 6* (1990) 641–643, who prefers an identity of Halab/Aleppo with Halam.

72 B.R.Foster, *JANES 14* (1982) 27–36 (esp.34). The event is obviously depicted on a relief, cf. F.R.Kraus, *Iraq 10* (1948) 82 f.

73 *GS III 12* and M.Liverani, *Or 39* (1970) 454. An equation with Urshu seems impossible because of the writing of this place name in the Ebla texts (Ursa'um) and Ur III documents (Urshu).

74 I.J.Gelb — B.Kienast, *FAOS 7* (1990) 53 f. and 277 f. A.Ungnad, *RLA 2* (1938) 133, cf. H.Hirsch, *Afo 20* (1963) 28 f.

75 A.Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften des Gudea von Lagasch*, Rom 1966, 51 ff., cf. G.Pettinato, *Mesopotamia 7* (1972) 43–166.

76 There is plenty of evidence in the economic and administrative texts of the Ur III period, cf. G.Pettinato, *Mesopotamia 7* (1972) 43–166 and the indices of the text editions which have appeared during the last two decades. A Sumerian literary composition concerning

the Orontes<sup>77</sup> and a certain Ibdati of Gubla, obviously the leading figure (*ensi*) in this coastal city at the time of Amar-Sin of Ur (2045–2037).<sup>78</sup> From about the same period (year Amar-Sin 7) comes another text from Drehim, which mentions a messenger of a certain Megum(?; Me-GU-um), ruler (*ensi*) of Ebla.<sup>79</sup> There is furthermore some evidence from the excavations at Qatna (Mishrife near Homs) where Sumerian influence is manifest in architecture (temple of Nin-egal) and some objects.<sup>80</sup>

Gudea of Lagash does not mention any Syrian prince as a partner in trade, and the textual material of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur only refers to Ibdati of Gubla (cf. above). In the inscriptions of the kings of Ur appears the title of “king of the four regions of the world”, which has not *a priori* a bearing on the real situation,<sup>81</sup> and a year formula of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the dynasty, notes a campaign “from below to above” without indicating the direction in other geographical terms.<sup>82</sup> According to an Old Babylonian copy of a text of king Shu-Sin (2036–2028) there was an expedition to the “country where the cedars were cut”, and in this connection appear Ebla, Mari, Tuttul, Urkish (in upper Mesopotamia), Mu-x?-gish (= Mukish?) and Abarnum.<sup>83</sup> But there is no proof in contemporary texts for a Syrian campaign by this king so far. The fact that a Lagash text<sup>84</sup> mentions Ebla in close connection with Urshu could corroborate the assumption that Ebla was now politically overshadowed by Urshu.<sup>85</sup>

Thus the Mesopotamian textual material gives only poor information on the political situation in Syria during the last three centuries of the 3rd millennium. It

the journey of Nanna to Nippur mentions among the material used for the construction of the ship of the god timber (planks) “from the forest of Ebla”; cf., most recently, W.H.Ph.Römer, *TUAT* II/2 (1987) 175–189, esp. 179.

77 Mukish is connected with the name of a certain Gababa, who came from this area, cf. D.O.Edzard – G.Farber, *RGTC* 2 (1974) 133 f.

78 E.Sollberger, *AfO* 19 (1959–1960) 120–122, cf. *GS* II 425 and 430. For relevant findings in Gubla itself cf. also G.Dossin, *MUSJ* 45 (1969) 241–255.

79 D.I.Owen – R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985*, Napoli 1987, 267–291. The text also mentions the names of people from Mari, Tuttul and Urshu. Megum(?) is supposed to be identical with Ibbit-Lim of Ebla, whose statue with an inscription was discovered at Tell Mardikh, cf. I.J.Gelb, *Studia orientalia* 55 (1984) 213–229 (cf. below, next chapter).

80 R.du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrife-Qatna*, Paris 1935, 15 f., cf. *GS* II 114 f.

81 Cf. J.Bottéro, *CAH* I/21 (1965) 30 f. and *CAH* II/1 (1971) 559–566, also G.Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 386 ff. and D.I.Owen – R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985*, Napoli 1987, 263–291.

82 A.Ungnad, *RIA* II (1938) 140 no.18.

83 M.Civil, *JCS* 21 (1967) 37 f., cf. P.Michalowski, in: H.Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, 141. For an *ensi* of Abarnum cf. D.O.Edzard – G.Farber, *RGTC* 2 (1974) 1.

84 A.Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften des Gudea von Lagasch*, Rom 1966, 52.

85 Cf. P.Matthiae, *histoire et archéologie* 83 (Mai 1984) 28 f., who even assumes that Ebla was controlled by Urshu; for a contrary view see D.I.Owen – R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985*, Napoli 1987, 263–291.

seems that changes in the course of the main trade routes between Mesopotamia and Syria came about, perhaps dating to the period of the dynasty of Akkad. First, the northern route obviously shifted farther to the north, thus strengthening the importance of Urshu.<sup>86</sup> Second, the urban development of Qatna in central Syria could point to a growing importance of the "desert route", if we presuppose that Qatna was not only situated on the north-south route through Syria but was also a crossing-point with the route coming from the east. From there, a road ran directly to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, perhaps also to the Biqa' and to Egypt.

As far as the contacts with Egypt are concerned, it was Gubla which continued to be the place from where goods from Syria were shipped to Egypt and vice versa. The inscriptions from Gubla show that there was a zenith of Egyptian-Syrian economic relations during the time of the 6th dynasty, and the name of Pepi (Phiops), the contemporary of the Akkad dynasty, is also frequently mentioned.<sup>87</sup> But at the time of this pharaoh, Egypt's power was already in decay, a factor which surely affected the position of Egypt in Syria. During the so-called "First Intermediate period" there existed, nevertheless, some trade relations with Syria.<sup>88</sup> But it seems possible that this situation enabled the traders of Mesopotamia, who stood in the service of the kings of Ur, to gain a firmer foothold in Gubla.

The evidence coming from both archaeological and inscriptional material and pertaining to the spreading of a West Semitic-speaking population, the MAR.TU/Amurru, is now of concern also for political history. Sharkalisharri of Akkad (2223-2198) battled with Amorites in the area of the Jebel Bishri<sup>89</sup>, but the infiltration of Amorite groups into the area of the "Fertile Crescent" adjacent to the Syrian desert is witnessed by the increasing number of West Semitic personal names in the texts of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur.<sup>90</sup> The kings of Ur made a fruitless attempt to keep the Amorites outside the irrigated area of their territory.<sup>91</sup> As to Syria, the settling down of Amorites changed the political structure considerably (cf. GS III 119 ff.). After having had close contact with the fully sedentary population and not being such "barbars" as they are labelled in Mesopotamian literary tradition,<sup>92</sup> they obviously

86 P.Matthiae, *Akkadica* 14 (1979) 6-10, tentatively proposed a location of Urshu at Tell Tuqan north of Ebla. G.Pettinato, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, 234 and 265, prefers a location in the Commagene, which would better fit the textual evidence.

87 M.Chéhab, *BMB* 22 (1969) 1-47 (esp. 16 ff), cf. also A.Ben-Tor, *JJS* 33 (1982) 3-18.

88 W.A.Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200 - 1900 B.C.*, Beirut 1971.

89 Cf. the comments upon this year-formula by J.-R.Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, 165 f., and D.O.Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien*, Wiesbaden 1957, 33.

90 G.Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III period*, Naples 1966; cf. I.J.Gelb, *JCS* 15 (1961) 27-47.

91 Cf. the year dates of Shu-Sin and Ibni-Sin: D.O.Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien*, Wiesbaden 1957, 33 f.

92 Cf. D.O.Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien*, Wiesbaden 1957, 31 f. and the comments of M.Liverani, *OA* (1970) 5-27, also H.Klengel, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast*, Leipzig 1972, 44 ff.

became an increasing part of the indigenous people. Some archaeological evidence is perhaps connected with this social and political situation at the very end of the 3rd millennium.<sup>93</sup> Within this context, the most important conclusion is a "major interruption in urban development", demonstrated by the results of excavations at sites as Ugarit and in the 'Amq plain, at Qatna and other places in central Syria. There are also artifacts from Gubla which could indicated the arrival of a new population group. The results are clearly visible in texts of the early 2nd millennium B.C. It seems possible that it was not only a single factor which led to the new situation at the threshold of the 3rd to the 2nd millennium. An increasing desiccation of the pastures and cultivable soils on the fringe of the Syrian desert, brought about by variations in rainfall quantities and micro-climate, could have had serious consequences as to the borderline of settled areas and the subsistence pattern of the semi-nomads.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps there was also a considerable growth in population among the Amorites, causing "demographic pressure" with no possibility of proportional economic development.<sup>95</sup> Of importance in this respect was the political situation in the cultivated regions. If the centralising power was weak or - as it was the case in Syria - was missing, this might have encouraged semi-nomads to become fully sedentary. The textual sources of the early 2nd millennium show that Amorites, if we trust in their onomasticon, seized political power in many Syrian centres.

93 G.Posener - J.Bottéro - Kathleen M.Kenyon, *CAH* L/20 (1965) 50 ff; K.M.Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites*, London 1966, 36 ff.

94 Cf., with regard to more recent times, W.Haude, *Die Erde* 94 (1963) 281-312; K.W.Butzer, in: E.S.Hills (ed.), *Arid Lands. A Geographical Appraisal*, London 1966, 127-144.

95 Cf. J.Oates, in: *L'archéologie de l'Iraq*, Paris 1980, 303-314.

## II. THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

### 1. The establishment of Amorite political rule in Syria (c. 2000–1800 B.C.)

#### a) Sources.

After the collapse of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur at the very end of the 3rd millennium there existed no Mesopotamian state powerful enough to interfere with Syrian affairs and, consequently, to furnish textual evidence pertaining to the regions west of the Euphrates. As to Egypt, the so-called “First Intermediate period” (c. 2160–1994) was characterized by a decay of Egyptian influence in Syria. The meagre written sources reflect the changes in the political situation in the Asiatic countries beyond the delta of the Nile. The spread of the Amorites, the political consequences of which become visible especially from the archives of Mari (late 19th and first half of the 18th centuries B.C.), and the seizure of political rule by Amorite leaders were also unfavourable for the emergence of a written tradition on Syria. Thus the first two centuries of the 2nd millennium prolong, as far as the written sources are concerned, the “dark age” in Syrian history which began after the destruction of the archives of Ebla.

Syria itself has provided us with little textual material so far. From the late 3rd or early 2nd millennia comes an inscription, which was discovered at Ebla and mentions a certain Ibbit(Yibbit)-Lim, son of Igrish-hepa(?), who dedicated a basin to the goddess Ishtar and erected a statue of himself before her. The text is carved into the stone of this statue, which was found 1968 on the upper slope of the “acropolis” of Ebla in a fragmentary condition.

- G.Pettinato, AAAS 20 (1970) 73–76; I.J.Gelb, *Studia orientalia* 55 (1984) 213–229; cf. also W.G.Lambert, RA 75 (1981) 95 f. and now I.J.Gelb- B.Kienast, FAOS 7 (1990) 369 ff.

There is a tablet of the later archives from Ugarit, written in alphabetic cuneiform and containing a list of deified kings (RS 24.257). The first of these rulers is Yaqarum, also mentioned in the inscription of a seal which was used as a kind of dynastic seal on tablets of the 14th and 13th centuries; according to the seal Yaqarum was a son of Niqmadu, king of Ugarit.<sup>1</sup>

- M.Dietrich – O.Loretz – J.Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (= KTU), I, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, 119 Text 1.113; for the obvers cf. Ch.Virolleaud, *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, 561 f. (No.5), for discussion of both sides see K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142, cf. J.Nougayrol, PRU III (1955)

1 Cf. the discovery of such type of seal in the third palace of Ugarit; Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, AFO 23 (1970) 134 f.

XXVI ff. Seal: Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, Paris 1956, 66–77 and J.Nougayrol, *PRU* III (1955) XL ff.; GS II 332 f. and M.Dietrich – O.Loretz, *TUAT* I/5 (1985) 496 f.

Several inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphs and some seals originate from Gubla/Byblos. They give the names of Gublite rulers, which are clearly Amorite, and date from the time between the 19th and 16th centuries. The Gublite rulers were contemporaries of the 12th and 13th dynasties of Egypt.

- K.A.Kitchen, *Or* 36 (1967) 39–54; cf. G.T.Martin, *JNES* 27 (1968) and Berytus 18 (1969) 81 ff.

Two literary compositions from Egypt relate to the beginning of the 2nd millennium: The “Admonition of Ipu-wer”, handed down to us in a version of the New Kingdom, and the “Tale of Sinuhe”, a fictitious biography describing the stay of the “author” in Palestine and southern Syria. Although the text is not reliable as to the life and deeds of Sinuhe himself, it obviously reflects to a certain degree the experiences of the Egyptians with the peoples of the Asiatic regions adjacent to the Nile valley. The “Execration Texts” of the 12th and 13th dynasties (Middle Kingdom, c.1994–1650) were destined for the official use in order to strengthen Egyptian power in Syria and Palestine. The hieroglyphic inscriptions, written upon figurines and pottery sherds for magical purposes, mention a series of names of persons, places and tribal units, possible enemies of Egypt. Egyptian statues, sphinxes and other objects, some of them bearing inscriptions, were discovered at various places in Syria, such as Gubla, Ugarit, Ebla, Qatna, Tell Hizzin (Biqā') and Neirab (near Aleppo).

- J.A.Wilson, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), *ANET*, Princeton 1950, 441–444 (Ipu-wer); E.Blumenthal, *Altägyptische Reiseerzählungen*, Leipzig 1982 (with further literature), 41 ff.; R.Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Bruxelles 1990; K.Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin 1926; G.Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Bruxelles 1940, cf. J.Vercoutter, *Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie* 37/38 (1963) 28 ff. For the interpretation cf. also W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 44 ff. and the literature mentioned in GS III 133 n.42. For the Egyptian statues in Syria cf. W.A.Ward, *Or* 30 (1961) 22–45 and W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 68 ff.

The texts of the trading colonies of the Assyrians, especially from Kanesh/Kültepe in central Anatolia (early 2nd millennium) mention – as far as they are published – citizens of some Syrian towns, such as Urshu, Ebla, Tadmur/Palmyra, and Sam'al. A trading board (*karum*) existed at Urshu.

- E.Bilgiç, *AfO* 15 (1945–1951) 36 f.; M.T.Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies*, Copenhagen 1976, 261 f. (letter of the Karum of Urshu); further evidence cf. H.Klengel, in: K.Emre – M.Mellink – B.Hrouda – N.Özgülç (eds.), *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East* (Fs T.Özgülç), Ankara 1989, 263–270.



b) *Outline history.*

The inscription of Ibbit-Lim, son of Igrish-hepa(?), is the most prominent Syrian document for this period, but contributes very little to the knowledge of Syrian political history and is not datable with certainty. Nevertheless, it points to an Amorite ruler of Ebla, thus reflecting the presence and perhaps political dominance of the new population element, the Amorites. According to this inscription (cf. especially 1.4), Ibbit-Lim seems to have "erected" Ebla after a period of weakness.<sup>2</sup> Nothing else is said as to the political situation, e.g., the relationship with the *shakkanakku* of Mari, who were obviously in control of the Euphrates valley around Mari and did not mention Syrian rulers or places in their inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> That Ebla was of some importance, at least in economic terms, could be indicated by the fact that people of this city travelled to the Assyrian trading center (*karum*) of Urshu or even to Kanesh.<sup>4</sup> Politically, Urshu overshadowed Ebla, and the *karum* of Urshu was an important station on the long route between Ashur and Kanesh, a place where perhaps Syrian merchants linked their business activities with those of the Anatolian principalities. In the letter addressed by the *karum* of Urshu to the *karum* of Kanesh,<sup>5</sup> the sender asks for help because thieves had entered the temple of the god Ashur and stolen all the precious things; this gives evidence of a temple of Ashur in the Assyrian colony of Urshu. It is also of interest, that the letter was sent to Kanesh, not to Ashur; Urshu obviously belonged to the system of trading colonies dominated (or even administrated) by Kanesh.<sup>6</sup> Syrians came to Anatolia for copper and paid for it in "Amorite silver".<sup>7</sup>

The texts from Egypt point to a decay of trade connections with Syria after the breakdown of the Old Kingdom. The statement of the "Admonitions of Ipu-wer", that "no one really sails north to Gubla today", connected with a reference to all the negative consequences for Egypt itself, seems to exaggerate the situation. There is archaeological evidence for a revival of trade relations, which were already flourish-

- 2 The reading of the second part of the father's name as Hepa, i.e. as the name of a Hurrian god, is disputed. If this understanding of the writing HLIB would be correct, it could indicate the presence of Hurrians in the region of Ebla; cf., in general, M.C.Astour, RHA 36 (1978) 1-22. D.I.Owen - R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), Ebla 1975-1985, Napoli 1987, 273, understand the name Ibbit-Lim not as an Amorite one but as a name standing in the tradition of Ebla. They propose a date of the statue at the end of the 3rd millennium and think that Ibbit-Lim could perhaps be identical with the ensi of Ebla Megum who is mentioned in a Ur III text, time of Amar-Sin. For another view see I.J.Gelb - B.Kienast, FAOS 7 (1990) 370 f.
- 3 Texts published by H.Limet, ARM XIX, Paris 1976; cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 147-172.
- 4 H.Klengel, in: K.Emre - M.Mellink - B.Hrouda - N.Özgüç (eds.), Anatolia and the Ancient Near East (Fs T.Özgüç), Ankara 1989, 263-270.
- 5 M.T.Larsen, The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies, Copenhagen 1976, 261 f.
- 6 Cf. K.R.Veenhof, RIA V/5-6 (1980) 370.
- 7 B.Kienast, Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer-Basel, Berlin 1960, no.32.

ing at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> The "Tale of Sinuhe" reflects the strong presence of tribal groups east of the delta and in southern Syria. The situation as shown by the fictitious biography is obviously not representative for the more urbanized central and northern Syria, although tribal units and elements of a gentile society also gained more influence in these developed areas for a certain transitional period.<sup>9</sup> The Egyptian "execration texts", to be divided into an earlier (12th dynasty) group written on potsherds (i.e. pottery smashed after magical rituals) and a later one (13th dynasty), written on clay figurines, could corroborate this assumption. They mention – beside rulers and places – a number of tribal units. The place names, as far as they can be localized, all belong to southern Syria; among them appear Gubla, Ullaza, Tyre, Irqata. There is no identifiable site (or ruler) so far which should be looked for north of the Homs plain. The region was, as it seems, still beyond the geographical horizon of Egyptian political relations reflected in texts, although Egyptian monuments and objects found their way even to places in north Syria.

As far as the coastal area of Syria is concerned, the growing activity of Crete and Cyprus is indicated by artifacts.<sup>10</sup> Already during the late 3rd millennium there developed an interaction between the palace economies of Crete and the Levant. Cyprus, a link in this contact, began to participate mainly through its copper, mentioned in the texts of Mari from the late 19th century.<sup>11</sup> The political situation in the Levant about 2000 B.C. was favourable for merchants from Crete to gain a firm foothold: There was no Syrian state able to contend with Crete for dominance on this sea-route, Egyptian influence had diminished, and the state of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur had disappeared. For the further development of trade the emergence of a series of smaller states was of importance; the palaces of the new dynasties were eager to participate in trade and to demonstrate their power by valuable imports. About 1800 B.C. Crete and Cyprus begin to appear in cuneiform tradition. A typical pottery of the Middle Minoan I B to III B period, the "Kamares" ware, underlines the relations between the Aegean and the Levant.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that Ugarit gained increasing importance in this trade, as is reflected in the Mari texts of the 18th century B.C.. The urban development and economic flourishing of the city resulted in a state organization of the society and the establishment of a local dynasty at the

8 W.A.Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200–1900 B.C.*, Beirut 1971; cf. W.A.Ward, *Or* 30 (1961) 22–45 and 129–155. For the Hauran area at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age cf. W.Helms, *Levant* 21 (1989) 141–168, with a summary of textual sources.

9 For topographical data as given by the story of Sinuhe cf. M.Green, *Chronique d'Égypte* 58 (1983) 38–59 (Amki, Lebanon, Amanus, Ramesses Meriamun).

10 Cf. H.Klengel, *SMEA* 24 (1984) 7–19; A.B.Knapp, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985) 231–250.

11 A.B.Knapp, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985) 231–250, points to the emergence of a "complex society" on Cyprus about 2000 B.C. and after, which favoured metallurgy on the island. The growing interaction with the Levant and the social development on Crete should also be taken into consideration.

12 G.Walberg, *Kamares. A Study of the Character of Palatial Middle Minoan Pottery*, Uppsala 1976.

latest during the 19th century B.C.<sup>13</sup> A certain Yaqarum, son of Niqmadu, is mentioned by his own inscription on a seal, and his name also appears in the list of deified kings of Ugarit which was discovered in the archives of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>14</sup> If we are allowed to date this king to the 19th century, his successors Niqmadu (I), Ibiranu (I), Niqmepa (I), Ibiranu (II?), Niqmepa (II) and Hammurapi/Ammurapi (I) ruled partly during the time when the Mari texts point to a closer contact between Ugarit, Halab, and Mari. The personal names are West Semitic/Amorite and connect the rulers of Ugarit with the dynasties ruling in Halab, Karkamish, Qatna, Mari, Babylon and others and also with the city rulers of Gubla, known to us from stone inscriptions in hieroglyphic and from their seals, who reigned between the 19th and 16th centuries. If we follow the sequence as proposed by K.A.Kitchen,<sup>15</sup> the oldest ruler mentioned from Gubla itself, Abishemu (I), could be placed in the late 19th century, contemporary with pharaoh Amenemhet III of the 12th dynasty.<sup>16</sup>

The personal names from various Syrian places mentioned above demonstrate that Amorites took over political rule in the most important centres, a fact which is corroborated by the texts of the following period. The same can be said with regard to Mesopotamia, where the West Semitic/Amorite onomasticon is abundantly obvious from the beginning of the period outlined here. It seems possible that some of the Syrian or Mesopotamian rulers had their ancestors in the same tribal group, an aspect not to be overlooked when dealing with the relations between the various kingdoms, which emerged under Amorite rule during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium.<sup>17</sup>

13 K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142, esp. 139 ff. supposes a local dynasty already since the late 3rd millennium by referring to a mythological tradition. After 2000 B.C. he gives the sequence: Belkenu, Tarmennu, Badanu, Radanu and Tharru, also connecting Ditanu and Keret with this line.

14 For the reconstruction of the list cf. K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142, esp. 134 ff.

15 K.A.Kitchen, Or 36 (1967) 40–54.

16 There is still no consent as to the dating of Amenemhet III and the dynasty. J.von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Berlin 1984: 1842–1794; cf. R.Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten*, Hildesheim 1985, 207: 1818–1770. Here we are again confronted with the problem of absolute dates for the reigns of Egyptian pharaohs. Cf. also the list compiled by E.Hornung, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Geschichte*, Darmstadt 1978, 159 ff., and the relevant dates as given in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. For the chronology of the 12th dynasty of Egypt see now D.Franke, Or 57 (1988) 113–138. In Ugarit were discovered objects bearing the names of Egyptian pharaohs of the 12th dynasty, such as a pearl with an inscription of Sesostri I, a statue of the wife of Sesostri II, two sphinxes of Amenemhet III, statues of dignitaries, priests, and ladies.

17 D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, RA 80 (1986) 141–183.

## 2. The period of the "Great Kingdom" of Yamhad (c. 1800-1600)

### a) Sources.

Shortly before 1800 B.C. the situation as to textual sources pertaining to Syria changed fundamentally; from then on cuneiform texts of Mari (Tell Hariri), from Alalakh (Açana) and the Hittite capital Hattusha (Boghazköy) furnish information covering two centuries which allow the reconstruction of the major political developments in Syrian history.

Starting with the sources discovered in Syria itself, firstly one must mention the results of the British excavations at Açana/Tell Atshane, the site of ancient Alalakh. In the level VII a large amount of cuneiform tablets was unearthed, written in Akkadian and mostly pertaining to Alalakh and the region of Mukish, but also to other centres in Syria, especially to Halab/Aleppo resp. the land of Yamhad.<sup>18</sup> The texts could be dated into the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 17th centuries. The first rulers mentioned in the texts of level VII, Abba'el of Halab and Yarim-Lim of Alalakh, are obviously to be considered as sons of Hammurapi (I), a contemporary of Zimri-Lim and often mentioned in the texts from the archives of Mari.<sup>19</sup> This would link the Alalakh texts with those from Mari. The date of the end of the level VII archives of Alalakh is not yet fixed exactly, but it should fall into the time when the Hittites invaded Syria and also conquered Alalakh. The destruction of Alalakh is mentioned in the bilingual annalistic report of Hattushili I (KBo X 1-2, CTH 4), and this event could have brought to an end the settlement of Alalakh level VII (about 1650 B.C.).

- D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets (= ALT)*, London 1953; the tablets from level VII are here marked by an asterisk.<sup>20</sup> For ALT \*455 see D.J. Wiseman, JCS 8 (1954) 1-3; for ALT \*456 D.J. Wiseman, JCS 12 (1958) 124-129. Supplementary copies are published in JCS 8 (1954) 5-30. A treatment of the ration lists of Alalakh VII is given by D.J. Wiseman, JCS 13 (1959) 19-33, cf. also A. Goetze, *ibid.* 34-38. For texts of historical relevance see GS I 203 ff. and GS I 136 ff. - ALT \*1 was discussed again, after collation of the original, by N. Na'aman, JNES 39 (1980) 35-63, the royal decrees are reconsidered by F.R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit*, Leiden 1984, 105 ff. For the purchase contracts cf. B. Kienast, WO 11 (1980) 35-63. - The reading and interpretation of many texts were improved during the discussion; a new edition is planned by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz; for ALT \*1 and \*456 cf.

18 Cf., in general, L. Woolley, *Alalakh*, Oxford 1955; L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, London 1953. For the dating of levels XVII to VIII cf. B. Hrouda, *Die bemalte Keramik des 2. Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin 1957, 28 f.

19 Cf. the seal inscription on ALT \*444 b and \*442 b 2 (GS I 162 n.1). According to ALT \*1, Yarim-Lim of Alalakh was a brother of Abba'el, cf. also ALT \*456:32 and W.F. Albright, BASOR 146 (1957) 28.

20 The asterisk should be cancelled at nos. 2, 3, 13, 14, 127, but to add at nos. \*119 and \*120.

D.Loretz, TUAT I/5 (1985) 497–501. — For a (defective) list of published Alalakh texts cf. now R.S.Hess, UF 20 (1988) 69–87.

The short hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered at Gubla, giving the proper names of princes of Gubla and its hinterland (cf. above), continue in this period, after having started with Abishemu (I) in the late 19th century. His son ruled at the time of the Egyptian pharaoh Amenemhet IV (early 18th century?), followed by a certain Yakin(ilu), “servant of Sehetepibre”, fifth king of the 13th dynasty of Egypt. Yantin(hammu), probably identical with the Yantin/Entin from a broken relief also mentioning Neferhotep I of Egypt, is possibly the same person as the Yantinhammu of an inventory text from Mari, from the time of Zimri-Lim.<sup>21</sup> Other rulers of Gubla, whose identity and chronological sequence is disputed, should be placed into the time between the Mari texts and about 1600: Ilimayapi(?), Abishemu (II), Yapashemuabi, Egel/Egliya, *R-y-n-t-y*, *Ka-in*, Hasrurum.<sup>22</sup>

- ▶ K.A.Kitchen, Or 36 (1967) 39–54; G.T.Martin, JNES 27 (1968) 141 f. and Berytus 18 (1969) 81 ff.; P.Montet, Kemi 17 (1964) 63–68. — For discussion cf. W.Helck, Beziehungen (1971) 64 ff.; W.F.Albright, BASOR 184 (1966) 26–35; G.Posener, MUSJ 45/46 (1970–1971) 223 ff.<sup>23</sup>

The list of deified kings of Ugarit, found in an archive of the Late Bronze Age but referring to the Old Syrian period, furnished a sequence of royal names of Amorite type. The placement of a certain Puruqu, “man” of Ugarit (ALT \*358), is still uncertain and there is no evidence that he was a prince of Ugarit.

- ▶ K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142, cf. H.Klengel, OLZ 57 (1962) 454 (GS II 334).

An Old Babylonian private letter comes from Ebla and was discovered above the ruins of the “palace” of the Early Bronze Age. The text concerns an economic affair (field) and mentions the names of an Ishme-Dagan (sender) and Hirkam-nishutiya (addressee), and furthermore Bāliya (Hurrian name). Among the objects of Egyptian origin, found in an Old Syrian tomb at Ebla, is an inscribed club giving the name of Hotepibre resp. Sehetepibre, pharaoh of the 13th Egyptian dynasty.

- ▶ J.-R.Kupper, SEB II/4–5 (1980) 49–51. For the club with the hieroglyphic inscription cf. G.Scandone-Matthiae, SEB I/7–8 (1979) 119–128.

At Emar (Meskene, Euphrates Lake) a text was excavated which is an Old Babylonian letter sent by Tukulti to his lord Yasi-Dagan informing him about the arrival of two persons and the hostile activities of the Suteans.

- ▶ D.Arnaud, Emar VI/3, Paris 1986, 493 f. (no.536), cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 90 f.

21 G.Dossin, Syria 20 (1939) 111; cf. ARM XXV 48+ (year Zimri-Lim 8/9) with further synchronisms, and H.Limet, MARI 3 (1984) 193 and 195 (A.1264).

22 According to G.T.Martin, Berytus 18 (1969) 81 ff., the time about 1550 would be the latest possible date.

23 Some inscriptions on stone or bronze, discovered in Gubla and not yet deciphered convincingly, could perhaps date from the period in question, cf. M.Dunand, Byblia Grammata, Beirut 1945; id., BMB 30 (1978) 51–59; also G.E.Mendenhall, The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos, Beirut 1985, 1985 (cf. the review by W.Röllig, OLZ 83 [1988] 573–576).

The excavations at Karkamish (Jerablus) unearthed a brief stone inscription, possibly dating to the period following the archives of Mari. Its bearing on political history remains unclear.

- C.L. Woolley – R.D. Barnett, *Carchemish III*, London 1952, A 33 k, cf. B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 52 n.88; H.G. Güterbock, JNES 13 (1954) 110; GS I 31.

Among the textual sources pertaining to Syria during the period in question the cuneiform tablets from the archives of Mari are of special importance. The French excavations, conducted on Tell Hariri since 1933, have unearthed between 15000 and 20000 tablets, once kept in the royal archives of the palace of Mari.<sup>24</sup> As far as the periods of origin are concerned, these cuneiform tablets come from the time of the Shakkanakku (c. 2266–1920)<sup>25</sup>, the kings Yahdun-Lim and Sumuyamam (late 19th century), the “Assyrian” period (Shamshi-Adad I, Yasmah-Adad, until 1776) and the reign of Zimri-Lim (until 1762). Although the tablets cover the period of about five centuries, most of them belong to the late 19th and the first half of the 18th centuries. The end of the archives is marked by the submission and later destruction of the fortifications of Mari by Hammurapi of Babylon; years 33 and 35 of his reign are named after these events.<sup>26</sup>

The editing of the Mari texts is still going on; most of the volumes contain information concerning Syria. In the following list is used, for practical reasons, the abbreviation ARM (i.e. including the volumes ARMT).

- ARM I: G.Dossin, *Correspondance de Shamshi-Addu et de ses fils*, Paris 1950 (copies: TCL XXII, 1946); ARM II: Ch.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses*, Paris 1950 (= TCL XXIII, 1941); ARM III: J.-R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan*, Paris 1950 (= TCL XXIV, 1948); ARM IV: G.Dossin, *Correspondance de Shamshi-Addu et de ses fils*, Paris 1951 (= TCL XXV, 1951); ARM V: G.Dossin, *Correspondance de Iasmah-Addu*, Paris 1952 (= TCL XXVI, 1951); ARM VI: J.-R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Bahdi-Lim*, Paris 1954 (= TCL XXVII, 1953); ARM VII: J. Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratifs*, Paris 1957 (= TCL XXVIII, 1956); cf. D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand, MARI 2 (1956) 75–115; ARM VIII: G. Boyer, *Textes juridiques*, Paris 1958 (= TCL XXIX, 1957), cf. J.-M. Durand, MARI 1 (1982) 91–136; D. Charpin, MARI 2 (1983) 61–74; J.-M. Durand, MARI 2 (1983) 123–139; ARM IX: M. Birot, *Textes*

24 Cf. J. Margueron, in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform archives and libraries*, Leiden 1986, 141–152. The archives can be located in various rooms of the palace, with a concentration in special areas of the west building complex.

25 J.-M. Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 147–172; publication of the texts by H. Limet, ARM XIX, Paris 1976. There are no references to Syria.

26 Cf. D. Charpin, MARI 5 (1987) 661 f., and J. Margueron, in: Ö. Tunca (ed.), *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari* (Fs J.-R. Kupper), Liège 1990, 115–125. According to archaeological investigations of J. Margueron, MARI 6 (1990) 430, the inventory of the Mari palace was mostly transported to Babylon, including a portion of the tablets which was of interest for the relations between Mari and Babylon. When Hammurapi destroyed the palace by fire in his 34th year of reign, the palace was already nearly empty.

administratifs de la salle 5 du Palais, Paris 1960 (= TCL XXX, 1960); ARM X: G.Dossin- A.Finet, Correspondance féminine, Paris 1978 (= TCL XXXI, 1967); cf. W.H.Ph.Römer, Frauenbriefe über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Mari (AOAT 12), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971. ARM XI: M.Lurton-Burke, Textes administratifs de la salle 111, Paris 1963; ARM XII: M.Birot, Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du Palais (2e partie, Paris 1964; ARM XIII: G.Dossin - M.Birot - M.Lurton - J.-R.Kupper - A.Finet, Textes divers, Paris 1964; cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 2 (1983) 141-149, 151-163; ARM XIV: M.Birot, Lettres de Yaqqm-Addu, gouverneur de Sagaratum, Paris 1974 (= TCM I, 1976).

[ARM XV-XVII are no text editions: ARM XV: J.Bottéro - A.Finet, Répertoire analytique des tomes I à V, Paris 1954; ARM XVI/1: A.Finet - J.-R.Kupper- M.Birot - O.Rouault, Répertoire analytique, tomes I à XIV, XVIII et textes hors-collection, 1re partie: Noms propres, Paris 1979; ARM XVII/1: J.-G.Heintz - A.Marx - L.Millot, Index documentaire des textes de Mari, fasc.1: Liste, codage des textes et index des ouvrages de référence, Paris 1975; ARM XVII/2: Id., fasc.2: Bibliographie de Mari: Archéologie et Textes (1934-1974), in preparation.]

ARM XVIII: O.Rouault, Mukannishum: l'administration et l'économie palatiales à Mari, Paris 1977 (= TCM II, 1976); ARM XIX: H.Limet, Textes administratifs de l'époque des shakkanakku, Paris 1976 (= TCM III, 1976).

[ARM XX was intended to be published by the late G.Dossin and did not appear.]

ARM XXI: J.-M.Durand, Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari, Paris 1983 (= TCM V, 1982); ARM XXII/1-2: J.-R.Kupper, Documents administratifs de la salle 135 du Palais de Mari, Paris 1983; ARM XXIII: G.Bardet - F.Joannès - B.Lafont - D.Soubeyran - P.Villard, Archives administratives de Mari, I, Paris 1984 (copies: MARI 5 [1987] 345-379, 381-408, 499-518, 6[1990] 453-461, 585-618); ARM XXIV: Ph.Ta'ou, Textes administratifs des salles "Y" et "Z" du Palais de Mari, Paris 1985 (= ARM XXIV/2, planches, 1985); ARM XXV: H.Limet, Textes administratifs relatifs au métaux, Paris 1986; ARM XXVI = Archives épistolaires de Mari (AEM) I/1-2, Paris 1988 (par J.-M.Durand, D.Charpin, F.Joannès, S.Lackenbacher, B.Lafont).

Of special interest is an inscription of king Yahdun-Lim written on baked bricks on the occasion of the foundation of the Shamash temple in Mari.

- G.Dossin, Syria 32 (1955) 1-28, cf. the most recent translation (with previous literature) by M.Dietrich - O.Loretz, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT II/4 (1988) 501-504, and D.R.Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595), Toronto 1990, 604-608.

Further editions are in preparation, but a great many still unpublished Mari texts are dealt with, sometimes with copies and transliterations, in various articles in journals, congress volumes and Festschriften.<sup>27</sup>

27 Cf., e.g.: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), Miscellanea Babylonica (Fs. M.Birot), Paris 1985; Ö.Tunca (ed.), De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari (Fs. J.-R.Kupper), Liège 1990. A journal which is especially devoted to Mari studies is MARI; an index to MARI 1 to 5 is published in MARI 5 (1987) 673 ff.

As far as Mesopotamian sources for Syrian history during the period between c.1800 and 1600 are concerned, there is some information in cuneiform texts from Assyria and Babylonia. Royal inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad I were discovered in Ashur, one of them pertaining to a campaign as far as the coast of the Mediterranean Sea (historical addition to a building inscription for the Enlil temple of Ashur).

- A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B.C.*, Toronto 1987, 50; cf. A.K.Grayson, *ARI I*, Wiesbaden 1972, 20 f. and K.Hecker, *TUAT II/4* (1988) 487–489.

Among the texts from the Old Babylonian period, which were discovered at various sites in Upper Mesopotamia, only those from Tell Chagar Bazar have furnished some references to Syrian places so far.<sup>28</sup>

- C.J.Gadd, *Iraq* 7 (1940) 22–66; O.Loretz, in: *Fs. W.von Soden* (AOAT 1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 200–260; O.Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak*, 1 (AOAT 3), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969.

From Babylonia a series of references to Syrian places and rulers are available in connection with trade and other commercial activities; they contribute little to political history, but provide background information as to political relations between Syria and Babylonia.

- For references to places as Gubla, Halab, E/Imar, Yamhad, Karkamish, Qatna, Tunip and Urshum cf. B.Groneberg, *RGTC* 3 (1980), for an Old Babylonian itinerary see W.W.Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964) 57–88. An itinerary is given in a dreambook: A.L.Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia 1956, 313. For transliterations and translations of Old Babylonian letters cf. AbB.

The expansion of the Hittite state from Anatolia into northern Syria during the period of the Old Kingdom of Hatti has brought the North Syrian (and Upper Mesopotamian) plains and the region at the mouth of the Orontes within the geographical horizon of the texts from the archives of Hattusha (Boghazköy). As these archives gained special importance as a source for Syrian history until the end of the Hittite state in the early 12th century B.C., the major publication series should be mentioned here, although not all volumes contain information concerning Syria.

- *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB, 1921 ff.); *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (KBo, 1916 ff.); *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletlerinden Seçme Metinler* (IBoT, 1944 ff.); L.King, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (HT), London

- 28 The ancient name of Tell Chagar Bazar is still unknown, but D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 318, do not exclude an identification with Hashum, although there are arguments for a location of Hashum west of the Euphrates too, cf. G.F. del Monte – J.Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978) 97 f. There is no reference to Syrian places from the texts of Tell Leilan (Shubat-Enlil and Shehna, land of Apum, cf. D.Charpin, *MARI* 5 [1987] 129–140) or Tell Rimah (ancient Qattara according to D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, *RA* 81 [1987] 125–146), but the new tablets found at Tell Leilan could perhaps furnish some facts interesting also for Syrian history. The excavations at Tell Bi'a (ancient Tuttul) uncovered 23 economic texts, some of them dating to the time of the Mari archives, see M.Krebernik, *MDOG* 122 (1990) 67–87; they contain no reference to Syria.



1920; A.Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* (VBoT), Marburg 1930; K.Balkan, *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri* (ABoT), Istanbul 1948.- Cf. also E.Laroche, *Fragments hittites de Genève* (FHG): RA 45 (1951) 131 ff., 184 ff.; RA 46 (1952) 42 ff.; G.Beckman – H.A.Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Texts in American Collections*: JCS 37 (1985) 1–60.

A catalogue of Hittite texts was compiled by E.Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (CTH), with supplements in RHA 30 (1972) 94–133. For personal names, including those of Syrians, cf. E.Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, with a supplement in *Hethitica IV* (1981) 3–58. A compilation of geographical names (including those of Syria) is G.F.del Monte – J.Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978).

As far as the period in question is concerned, a number of texts pertaining to the activities of Hattushili I and Murshili I of Hatti deserve special attention.

- ▶ CTH 4: Akkadian-Hittite bilingual concerning the deeds of Hattushili I (KBo X 1–2 and dupl.); cf. H.Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958) 75–79; C.Saporetti, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965) 77–85 (Akk.); F.Imparati, *ibid.* 13 (1964) 1–36 (Hitt.); H.M.Kümmel, *TUAT* I/5 (1985) 455–463.- CTH 7: Siege of Urshu (KBo I 11); cf. H.G.Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938) 114–139.- CTH 15: Tale on Zukrashi (KBo VII 14+ and dupl.); cf. A.Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650–1570 v.Chr.)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 43 ff.- CTH 14/15: Texts mentioning Yarim-Lim and Hammurapi of Yamhad; cf. C.Kühne, *ZA* 62 (1972) 243–249 and H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 53 f.<sup>29</sup>- CTH 11: Murshili I against Halab and Babylon (KBo III 57 and dupl.)<sup>30</sup>.- CTH 16a: Literary compositions pertaining to the Hittite campaigns beyond the Taurus: H.Otten, *ZA* 55 (1962) 156–168.- Cf. also the historical introduction to the Talmi-Sharruma treaty (KBo I 6 and dupl., CTH 75) and the edict of Telipinu (CTH 19, cf. now I.Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* (THeth.11), Heidelberg 1984.<sup>31</sup>

## b) *Outline history.*

### 1) *The dynasty of Halab/Yamhad.*

The first hint of an entity called Yamhad is given in a report by king Yahdun-Lim, ruler of Mari, Tuttul and the tribal territory of the Haneans, son of Yaggid-Lim. Yahdun-Lim is the first king of Mari represented in the archives by his own texts. He

29 In case the Irkabtu mentioned in KUB LVII 17:4 could be identified with the king of Yamhad, this text should be added to CTH 14 (cf. also KUB LVII 26:3); S.Kosak, *ZA* 78 (1988) 310 f.

30 Cf. the treatment of all texts referring to this event by H.Klengel, in: Ö.Tunca (ed.), *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari* (Fs. J.-R.Kupper), Liège 1990, 183–195.

31 A Hurrian-Hittite bilingual with a mention of Ebla, dating from the 15th/14th centuries (KUB XXXII 11 ff.), could refer to a situation before Hattushili I and after Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria; cf. H.Otten, in: H.Hauptmann – H.Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, 291 f.

was a brother of Sumuyamam, whose reign in Mari is to be placed after that of Yahdun-Lim.<sup>32</sup> That he was also father of Zimri-Lim, is now challenged by the inscription of a seal mentioning a certain Hatni-[Adad] as father of Zimri-Lim.<sup>33</sup> Officially, Zimri-Lim would have obviously been eager to demonstrate that he was Yahdun-Lim's son thus securing his succession.

According to a building inscription handed down to us on bricks of the Shamash temple of Mari,<sup>34</sup> Yahdun-Lim campaigned in Syria when marching to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea for cutting timber (cedars, cypresses or juniper, boxwood, *elammakum*-wood). He arrived at the shore of the sea and subdued the people living there; they were obliged to pay a regular tribute. In the same year, rulers of towns and tribes of the Euphrates valley attacked Yahdun-Lim's army — the "kings" of Samanum and the land of the Ubrabeans, of Tuttul and the land of the Amnaneans, of Abattum and the land of the Rabbeans. These rulers were at the same time heads of towns and tribal units, as was Yahdun-Lim himself as king of Mari and the land of the Haneans.<sup>35</sup> They received support from the troops of Sumu'epuh "of the land of Yamhad" (col.III 13 f.). Yahdun-Lim won the victory at the town of Samanum and gained control of the Euphrates valley far to the north. There is no reason to doubt the historical accuracy of this campaign. A year date of Yahdun-Lim mentions a victory on Emar,<sup>36</sup> and his "discus"-inscription<sup>37</sup> points to a battle with "seven kings", obviously in the Euphrates region. Political influence, at least north of Emar, is indicated by two letters from Mari (ARM I 1 and 2), addressed by Abisamar to Yahdun-Lim, asking him for help with reference to the rulers of Hashum, Urshum, Karkamish and Yamhad, a coalition of north Syrian and Upper Mesopotamian enemies placing Abisamar's territory in the same region.

The foundation inscription of Yahdun-Lim and other texts pertaining to military activities of the king of Mari in northern Syria allow the assumption that Yahdun-Lim's army marched upstream along the Euphrates and left the river at Emar, which was conquered. Yahdun-Lim thus followed the caravan route which already existed

- 32 G.Dossin, RA 64 (1970) 17–44; cf. D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 2 (1983) 117–121. G.Dossin proposed to see in Sumuyamam an older brother of Yahdun-Lim, who was prevented from succeeding to the throne by Yahdun-Lim. He came to the throne of Mari after Yahdun-Lim was murdered.
- 33 D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 336–338. In order to tally this evidence of the filiorelationship Zimri-Lim / Yahdun-Lim they suggest that Zimri-Lim was considered as son of Yahdun-Lim in the official tradition only.
- 34 G.Dossin, Syria 32 (1955) 1–28; cf. the German translation by M.Dietrich – O.Loretz, TUAT II/4 (1988) 501–504. From the same king comes the "discus"- inscription: F.Thureau-Dangin, RA 33 (1936) 49–54, where he is given the title of a "king of Mari, Tuttul and the land of Hana" and where a fight against "seven kings" of the Euphrates region is reported.
- 35 For the background of this title and the problem of a nomadic/tribal offspring of the kings of Mari cf. D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, RA 80 (1986) 141–183. The Hanean tribes seem to be divided into "Northerners" (Bene-Sim'al) and "Southerners" (Bene-Yamina).
- 36 G.Dossin, in: Studia Mariana, Leiden 1950, 52 no.4.
- 37 F.Thureau-Dangin, RA 33 (1936) 49–54.

at the time of the Ebla archives. Then he crossed the north Syrian plain and arrived at the mountains in northwestern Syria, i.e. the region of the Amanus, as Sargon of Akkad had done.<sup>38</sup> The battles between the rulers of the middle Euphrates and troops from Yamhad should be placed in the time shortly after this campaign and are possibly to be considered as a reaction to the expansion of the power of Mari far to the north.<sup>39</sup> Although Yahdun-Lim won the victory — at least according to the report of his own inscription — there is no further evidence for a control of northern Syria by Mari. Yahdun-Lim himself was attacked by Ilakabkabu, father of Shamshi-Adad (cf. ARM I 3); he was killed and replaced by Sumuyamam, his son.<sup>40</sup>

### Sumu'epuh.

Textual evidence shows Sumu'epuh to be a contemporary of Yahdun-Lim of Mari. The news of his death is communicated in a letter sent by Shamshi-Adad to his son Yasmah-Adad, who resided in Mari (ARM I 91).<sup>41</sup> Sumu'epuh was also corresponding with Yasmah-Adad himself (ARM V 21).<sup>42</sup> The reign of Sumu'epuh thus covered also the rule of Sumuyamam of Mari; his death is now dated approximately into the 12th or 13th year of Hammurapi of Babylon.<sup>43</sup> Sumu'epuh was also a contemporary with Ishhi-Adad of Qatna (ARM V 17+A.1882, cf. ARM I 24).<sup>44</sup> Thus the reign of Sumu'epuh was rather long: It began before the reign of Shamshi-Adad I (i.e. before c.1809) and ended about the year Hammurapi of Babylon 12/13 (i.e. about 1780). According to ARM XXIII 556, a fortress was named after this ruler of Yamhad.<sup>45</sup>

Among the texts with references to Sumu'epuh there is only one (ARM V 21) from himself, addressed to Yasmah-Adad in response to a letter from this ruler. But it becomes clear from other texts that he had a correspondence with further contemporary rulers too.<sup>46</sup> His residence is not known, but it seems probable that it was already Halab which is mentioned as the residence at the time of his successor, Yarim-Lim, although there is evidence of a fortress bearing the name of Sumu'epuh (ARM XXIII 556). Archives reflecting the emergence of Yamhad should therefore

38 Cf. A.Malamat, in: AS 16 (Fs. B.Landsberger), Chicago 1965, 368, and GS III 138–140.

39 Tuttul is identical with Tell Bi'a near Raqqa; Samanum was in the district of Terqa (Tell Ashara); cf. B.Groneberg, RGTC 3 (1980) 201. Abattum was located not far from Emar (Meskene), perhaps near modern Tabqa; cf. *ibid.* 1.

40 D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 293 ff. (new treatment of ARM I 3, cf. also p.339 ff.). The archives of Sumuyamam were published by G.Dossin, RA 64 (1970) 17–44, cf. D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 2 (1983) 117–121.

41 Cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 177–181 (join with M.5461).

42 Cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 189 f., and K.R.Veenhof, MARI 4 (1985) 217 f. – ARM IV 10 refers to a planned correspondence of Shamshi-Adad with Sumu'epuh.

43 D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 316; J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 579.

44 J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 167–170.

45 Cf. G.Dossin, RA 64 (1970) 97–101 (text from the time of his successor Yarim-Lim), and D.Charpin, MARI 3 (1984) 60 n.49.

46 ARM V 17 + A.1882, cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 167–170; for Nuzu as name of an ethnic unit of the west cf. D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, RA 80 (1986) 162.

be suggested to have existed in Halab/Aleppo. The extension of the territory ruled by Sumu'epuh is still unclear, but it certainly reached the Euphrates in the east (as far as Tuttul?, cf. below)<sup>47</sup> and the Orontes/Nahr el-Asi in the west; it bordered upon the territory of Qatna in the south, if we antedate a situation prevailing during the reign of Yarim-Lim I (cf. GS I 115). There were also campaigns of Sumu'epuh against the territory of the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad, during which the fortress called Dur-Shamshi-Adad was conquered and named after the victorious king, i.e. Dur-Sumu'epuh.<sup>48</sup> As far as the north is concerned, Urshu and Karkamish remained outside Yamhad, although they were certainly under strong influence from this kingdom at least for a time. Some regions of Yamhad were the territory of tribal units, such as the Rabbeans and Ubrabeans, and it depended on the control of these tribes as to where the political rule of the kings of Yamhad ended.<sup>49</sup>

The material concerning the reign of Sumu'epuh (cf. GS I 102 f.) demonstrates that he was not only a tribal chieftain but a king, equal to Shamshi-Adad and others. He belonged to the Amorites, obviously to a group living in northeast Syria and upper Mesopotamia.<sup>50</sup> His father is not mentioned in the textual sources; thus it remains uncertain whether he was already king in Yamhad or not. For the time being, we have to place Sumu'epuh at the beginning of a dynasty, the capital of which became Halab and which ruled for about two centuries. As there are many cross-references of other Syrian political units with Yamhad and its dynasty, the latter could serve as point of orientation and subdivision when outlining the political history.

The activities of Sumu'epuh during the time of Yahdun-Lim of Mari are reflected in the foundation inscription (cf. above) and the letter ARM I 1, where Abisamar asks Yahdun-Lim for help because of the hostility of Shamshi-Adad, with reference to an earlier attack of Hashum, Urshum, Karkamish, and Yamhad. It seems probable that Sumu'epuh was already the dominant person in Yamhad when the events mentioned took place, but it remains uncertain how much time had passed between this hostile act of Yamhad and the writing of the letter. Shamshi-Adad expanded his power and the territory of his kingdom in upper Mesopotamia to the Euphrates. He clashed with the king of Mari and succeeded in installing his son Yasmah-Adad as king in Mari, perhaps about 1795,<sup>51</sup> thus ending the short reign of Sumuyamam.

47 Later texts show that Emar on the Euphrates belonged to the territory controlled by Yamhad, cf. H.Klengel, *OLZ* 83 (1988) 647. A ruler of Emar is not attested for the time of the Mari archives so far; cf. also the fact that letters to Emar were responded by "the people of Emar", i.e. perhaps a city-council (ARM XXVI 246 = AEM I/1 p.501 ff. and also *ibid.* no.256 = p.536 ff., etc.).

48 The location of this fortress could have been in the region of Tell Ahmar; see J.-M.Durand, *MARI* 6 (1990) 271-275.

49 For the relevant problems cf. H.Klengel, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast*, Leipzig 1972, 107; M.C.Astour, *The Rabbeans: A Tribal Society on the Euphrates from Yahdun-Lim to Caesar*, Malibu 1978, 1-12.

50 For the Simalites as a northern branch of the Haneans cf. D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, *RA* 80 (1986), 141-183. The Ubrabeans are also evidenced for northern Syria, cf. P.Villard, *UF* 18 (1986) 408 f. and 411 f. (razzia against the Simalites).

51 K.R.Veenhof, *MARI* 4 (1985) 207.

Now began the "Assyrian" period ("Assyrian interregnum"), in which the kingdom of Mari formed part of the "kingdom of upper Mesopotamia" and which lasted until the death of Shamshi-Adad I, or shortly after.<sup>52</sup> From the, approximately, two decades of "Assyrian" rule in Mari come several letters also highlighting the policy of Yamhad. In this connection Ishhi-Adad of Qatna is witnessed as a contemporary Syrian ruler, whose territory bordered upon that of Yamhad in the north and who was the most important king in central Syria, controlling the southern route between Mesopotamia and the Levant.<sup>53</sup> Qatna was on good terms with Shamshi-Adad, at least since the time when this king made his campaign to the Mediterranean Sea after having gained a firm foothold in the region of the middle Euphrates.<sup>54</sup> He could have followed the trade route crossing the Syrian desert via Tadmur/Palmyra, thus avoiding the territory of Yamhad.<sup>55</sup> When giving advice to his son, Yasmah-Adad, who intended to travel to Qatna later on (ARM I 85, cf. ARM I 66), he could possibly have made use of his own experience on this route. Shamshi-Adad mentions in his inscription the erection of a stela in the "land Laban" on the shore of the "Great Sea"; this could point to an arrival of the Assyrian army at the Lebanon<sup>56</sup>, and the shortest route from upper Mesopotamia to these mountains would have been that through the Syrian desert. It is not to be excluded that about this time the alliance with Qatna came into being, then strengthened by a dynastic marriage, possibly during the year 11 of Hammurapi of Babylon and therefore at the time when Sumu'epuh was still ruling in Yamhad.<sup>57</sup> This alliance was directed against Yamhad and aimed at the access to the coastal area of Syria through Qatna. A letter of Sumu'epuh expressing the "joy" of this king about a success of Yasmah-Adad (ARM V 21) does not fit well into the picture of tensions and hostile activities between Yamhad and Shamshi-Adad, given by other textual evidence. ARM I 24 is the most important text in this connection, showing that Shamshi-Adad, Yasmah-Adad, Ishhi-Adad and the principalities of the north (Karkamish, Urshum, Hashum) created a confederacy against

52 For Hammurapi 17 = Ibalpi'el 4 cf. D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 308, also K.R.Veenhof, MARI 4 (1985) 217 f. For a new discussion concerning the question if Yasmah-Adad ruled also some time after the death of his father cf. R.M.Whiting, in: S.Eichler – M.Wäfler – D.Warburton, Tall al-Hamidiya 2, Freiburg/Schweiz – Göttingen 1990, 175 ff. who thinks that the reign of Yasmah-Adad in Mari did not end when Shamshi-Adad died. The final period of the reign of Shamshi-Adad is discussed by M.Anbar, in: M.Lebeau – Ph.Talon (eds.), *Reflets des Deux Fleuves* (Fs. A.Finet), Leuven 1989, 7–13.

53 The route to Qatna is mentioned as an alternative to a route via Yamhad in AbB II 177, cf. also ARM I 63 + M.11322: J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 181 f.

54 Cf. A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC*, Toronto 1987, 50 and GS III 140 ff.; M.Anbar, IOS III (1973) 12.

55 In the inscription of Shamshi-Adad I recording his campaign to the Mediterranean Sea (A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, cf. above n.53) is mentioned "the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and of the king of the Upper Land", but this alone is not a convincing argument for a northern route.

56 Cf. also A.Malamat, in: AS 16 (Fs.B.Landsberger), Chicago 1965, 370 f.

57 About 1782 B.C., cf. D.Charpin, MARI 4 (1985) 312 ff.

Sumu'epuh. This happened shortly after the arrival of the princess of Qatna at Mari (cf. ARM I 24:11 f.). The former allies of Yamhad in the north had turned to the side of Shamshi-Adad, the strongest political power of this time. The troops gathered against Sumu'epuh were numerous and are a testimony for the military strength of the enemy, i.e. the king of Yamhad.<sup>58</sup> A decisive battle is not recorded, neither in the texts nor in the year dates known to us so far. As it seems, there happened a series of razzias, especially in the border-area between Yamhad and the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad in upper Mesopotamia. ARM I 43 points to a planned presence of Yasmah-Adad at Tuttul (near modern Raqqa)<sup>59</sup> and there is expressed the hope that his arrival would force Sumu'epuh to withdraw from positions held in the neighbourhood. It was intended (ARM I 24) to take Sumu'epuh prisoner and to hand him over to Ishhi-Adad of Qatna. But ARM I 91 (+) M.5461 does not indicate that Sumu'epuh would have died as a prisoner or in battle, albeit an eponym chronicle records a victory by Shamshi-Adad.<sup>60</sup> The conflict of Shamshi-Adad and his allies with Sumu'epuh lasted for two or three seasons, but was afterwards continued by Yarim-Lim, son and successor of Sumu'epuh.

### Yarim-Lim (I)

That Yarim-Lim (I) was a son of Sumu'epuh, is witnessed by the inscription of a seal.<sup>61</sup> In the case that he did immediately succeed to the throne, as seems very probable, he began his rule about the 12th or 13th year of Hammurapi of Babylon, c. 1781/1780. His death occurred during the year Zimri-Lim 9', i.e. in the 28th year of reign of king Hammurapi of Babylon (c.1765).<sup>62</sup> In the year of his accession, Ishhi-Adad of Qatna was still alive and ruling; during the reign of Yarim-Lim Amutpi'el followed his father as ruler of Qatna (ARM XXIII 230, etc.). In Mari there was also a change of rule during Yarim-Lim's reign: Yasmah-Adad was replaced by Zimri-Lim, immediately or some time after the death of Shamshi-Adad (cf. above). Yarim-Lim was furthermore contemporary with Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibalpi'el (II) of Eshnunna, Aplahanda of Karkamish, Yashubiyahad of Der, Sin-gamil of Diniktum, Ibni-Adad of Hazor, Zaziya of the Turukkeans and perhaps also Shennam of Urshu and Yantinhammu of Gubla.<sup>63</sup>

58 Ibid.; Sumu'epuh did perhaps try to find allies beyond the Tigris, cf. ARM V 17 + A.1882.

59 For this text cf. P.Villard, MARI 6 (1990) 568 f.

60 J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 274.

61 D.Charpin – J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 308; D.R.Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (2003–1595), Toronto 1990, 781 f. (with seals of servants).

62 M.Birot, *Syria* 55 (1978) 333–343; P.Villard, ARM XXIII 457 and ib.p.473 n.45 (death of Yarim-Lim between the month III and the middle of month VIII of Zimri-Lim 9'); id. *UF* 18 (1986) 410 n.165. A year date from Ishchali records the death of a certain Yarim-Lim, who could be identified with Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad: S.Greengus, *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity*, Istanbul 1979, 31 (no.326:55). Cf. also the sending destined for the tomb of Yarim-Lim, mentioned in a Mari text (M.18151), dated the 3rd day of month VIII, Zimri-Lim 9': J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 619.

63 G.Dossin, *Syria* 19 (1938) 117 f.(letter of Iturasdu); the text is broken off after the name of the king of Yamhad – was there mentioned a further king?, cf. J.-M.Durand apud

The chronology of events to be placed into the reign of Yarim-Lim depends on that of Mari and the sequence of year dates on Mari texts. This order is still under discussion, but during the most recent years a considerable progress was made in this field. It allows, together with a "logical" sequence of events, a preliminary outline of political history.

Yarim-Lim, when acceding to the throne of his father, inherited not only the enmity with the kingdom of upper Mesopotamia (Assyria), but also with Mari and Qatna. He resided in Halab, which is clearly witnessed as a residence since the "Assyrian" period of Mari (ARM V 63). A text from the time of king Zimri-Lim (RA 36, 47) mentions Yarim-Lim as "king of Halab"; Zimri-Lim himself lived for a certain period at the court of Yarim-Lim, i.e. in Halab, before he became king of Mari.

The war between Yarim-Lim and Shamshi-Adad, the two most important rulers in the northern part of the "Fertile Crescent", touched also upon other kingdoms: Eshnunna (Ibalpi'el II) and Babylon (Hammurapi) were supporters of Yamhad, whereas Qatna joined Shamshi-Adad and Yasmah-Adad (cf. GS II 120 ff.). A stay of Yasmah-Adad in Emar, a town normally considered as belonging to Yamhad, could be connected with this conflict (ARM VII 7).<sup>64</sup> If we take a letter addressed by Yarim-Lim of Yamhad to king Yashubiyahad of Der<sup>65</sup> as a historical document, we may assume that the good relations between Yamhad and Babylon were already established during the "Assyrian" period of Mari. According to the letter, Yarim-Lim "saved the city of Babylon" and "gave life" to the addressee and his land, and Yarim-Lim reminds Yashubiyahad at the fate which befell Sin-gamil of Diniktu because of his hostile behaviour. If these facts are to be taken as correct, then they could witness political and military influence of Yarim-Lim even in regions beyond the Tigris.<sup>66</sup>

The death of Shamshi-Adad I brought about a change in the political situation. We may suppose that his death happened during the fighting with Yamhad in the 17th year of reign of Hammurapi of Babylon (c. 1776).<sup>67</sup> About that time, possibly before Shamshi-Adad's death, the rule also ended of Ishhi-Adad in Qatna, who obviously belonged to the same generation as Shamshi-Adad. Soon after the decease of Shamshi-Adad Zimri-Lim came to the throne in Mari. Yarim-Lim made an alliance with the new king; gifts for Zimri-Lim were sent by Tab-balati, "premier minister" of

A. Malamat, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXXVI/1 (1985) 48 n.4. Cf. also GS I 116 and the synchronisms evidenced by ARM XXI 333, XXIII 556, XXV 48+, and other texts.

64 Perhaps to be dated into the year Hammurapi 15, cf. D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 318.

65 G. Dossin, *Syria* 33 (1956) 63–69 (= *Recueil Dossin*, 1983, 180–186), and J. Sasson, in: J.-M. Durand – J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs. M. Birot), Paris 1985, 237–255. Sasson considers the text as a fictitious letter, a "declaration of war" in literary style, written down in Mari. For a different view see D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 308–310.

66 For localizations cf. B. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3 (1980) 54 f. and J. Sasson (cf. above) 246 ff.

67 D. Charpin – J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 308.

Yarim-Lim.<sup>68</sup> A daughter of Yarim-Lim, Shibtu, was married to Zimri-Lim later on (Zimri-Lim year 9', cf. MARI 3 [1985] 172); she was active in Mari also during the reign of Hammurapi of Yamhad.<sup>69</sup> A number of Mari texts, some of them sent from Ugarit, refer to a voyage undertaken by the court of Mari to upper Mesopotamia and to north Syria during the later years of Yarim-Lim (Zimri-Lim 8').<sup>70</sup> Yarim-Lim had extended his rule far into northern Mesopotamia, and if we follow an itinerary as given by ARM XXIII 535 (and supplemented by other texts), dated Zimri-Lim 9', Zimri-Lim had a meeting with Yarim-Lim and Gashera, queen of Yamhad, at a place called Hakkulan, perhaps located near the border of the kingdoms of Mari and Yamhad. Some days later the presence of Yarim-Lim is attested at Zalpah<sup>71</sup>, then, after a further two days, at Yakullum (location not known). Afterwards we find Yarim-Lim back in his capital. From Halab he set off for Ugarit, with Muzunnum, Layashum and Hazazar<sup>72</sup> as stations on the road. Several texts mention the presence of Yarim-Lim in Ugarit (ARM XXIII 538–540, 546–548), where he arrived together

- 68 J.-M. Durand, MARI 2 (1983) 219 f. (ARM XXIII 61). – Two letters dealing with the sending of grain from Yamhad to Mari (A.1101 and A.1153), point to the special relationship between Zimri-Lim and Yarim-Lim of Yamhad, who is said (A.1153) to have brought Zimri-Lim to the throne of Mari and to have contributed to strengthening the power of this king: G. Dossin, in: A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 180–186 (cf. MARI 4 [1985] 331 and 334, MARI 5 [1987] 669). Cf. also the text 72–39 + 27–8, a kind of a memorandum, where Yarim-Lim is designated as “father” of Zimri-Lim and gives advices concerning a friendly behaviour of Zimri-Lim towards his “brothers” and his obligation to support Yarim-Lim in case there is an uprising in Yamhad: M. Birot, in: Ö. Tunca (ed.), *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari* (Fs. J.-R. Kupper), Liège 1990, 127–135.
- 69 For Shibtu, daughter of Yarim-Lim, cf. ARM X 119, 134, 156, 177, XXV 426, 617; M. Birot, *Syria* 55 (1978) 333 ff.; J.-M. Durand, MARI 3 (1984) 172 and MARI 4 (1985) 402; H. Limet, MARI 4 (1985) 342 (dowry of Shibtu). – Some letters of the diviner Asqudum (J.-M. Durand, ARM XXVI 10–16 = AEM I/1 [1988] 95–117), refer to the diviner's journey to Halab when the king of Mari (Zimri-Lim) married the daughter of Yarim-Lim. Shibtu should have arrived at Mari during year Zimri-Lim 2' (“Benjaminites”, cf. *ibid.* p. 97 f.). About this time the mother of Yarim-Lim died (cf. *ibid.* p. 105 ff.), perhaps she had been the wife of Sumu'epuh. For another mission of Asqudum to Halab (via Tuttul and Emar) cf. ARM XXVI 17–20 (= AEM I/1 p. 119–133) and ARM XXVI 21 (= AEM I/1 p. 133–135).
- 70 P. Villard, ARM XXIII p. 457–475 (ad nos. 535–549); cf. his historical comment given in UF 18 (1986) 387–412, which includes also references published in ARM XXI, XXIV and XXV. The presence of Zimri-Lim in Yamhad is also mentioned in a letter of Yarim-Adad who informs his lord about events in northern Mesopotamia and the victory of Hammurapi of Babylon on Mutiabal, a country which had revolted: ARM XXVI 365 bis = AEM I/2 p. 168 f.
- 71 Perhaps to be located at Hammam et-Turkman? P. Villard, UF 18 (1986) 397, prefers a site on the Euphrates.
- 72 Cf. P. Villard, UF 18 (1986) 397 f., also B. Groneberg, RGTC 3 (1980) 171. Layashum should be identical with later La'ash, for Hazazar cf. Hashashar: B. Groneberg, RGTC 3 (1980) 96 and G. del Monte – J. Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 49. A location at the valley of the middle Orontes (Ghab) was proposed by P. Villard, UF 18 (1986) 397 f.



with a princess Yatar-Aya<sup>73</sup> and members of the court of Mari. There is evidence that Zimri-Lim personally accompanied the king of Yamhad as far as Ugarit<sup>74</sup>, and it is therefore possible that Zimri-Lim was with his father-in-law during all the time of the journey to Ugarit.<sup>75</sup> A letter addressed by Hammurapi (I) of Yamhad to Zimri-Lim, mentioning the desire of the king of Ugarit to see the famous palace ("house") of the king of Mari,<sup>76</sup> could be a reference to the personal appearance of Zimri-Lim in Ugarit during the reign of the sender's father. Ugarit was of special importance for the tin and copper trade; tin came to Ugarit via Mesopotamia (Mari), whereas copper was imported from Cyprus via Ugarit.<sup>77</sup>

The rulers of towns as Muzunnum (Sumu'erah) and Layashum (Ewritalma, a Hurrian name) may have belonged to the "kings" who followed the king of Yamhad according to the letter addressed by Iturasdu to Zimri-Lim<sup>78</sup>. The number of 20 "followers" attributed to Yarim-Lim is higher than that given to kings as Hammurapi of Babylon, Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibalpi'el of Eshnunna and Amutpi'el of Qatna (between 10 and 15 "kings"). In a letter of Yamsum to Zimri-Lim it is said that after the death of Shamshi-Adad there would be four mighty kings: Hammurapi of Babylon, Rim-Sin of Larsa, Amutpi'el of Qatna and Yarim-Lim of Yamhad.<sup>79</sup> If compared with the letter of Iturasdu, only the king of Eshnunna is missing. Both demonstrate the political role of Yamhad during the reign of Yarim-Lim I. When Zimri-Lim married Shibtu, the daughter of Yarim-Lim, "kings of the whole land", i.e. a number of local rulers, assembled in Halab.<sup>80</sup> The dominant role which was exercised by

- 73 P.Villard, ARM XXIII p.475, suggested that Yatar-Aya was a daughter of Yarim-Lim or of the king of Ugarit, while J.-M.Durand (*ibid.* 475 n.52) proposed a princess of Hazor. For the economic contacts of Hazor with Yamhad cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 63 f.
- 74 ARM XXV 154+ and 359; Ch.-E.Jean, RÉS 1939, 67; P.Villard, UF 18 (1986) 411; AEM I/1 p.132 (A.2966, with reference to a date "when my lord went to Ugarit").
- 75 D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, RA 80 (1986) 173, refer to a tribal relationship of the Amorite rulers, whereby Zimri-Lim is seen as belonging to the Simalites, who dominated also in northern Syria and who had the god Adad of Halab as "la figure majeure" (p.174). According to them, the rulers of Qatna and Karkamish would have belonged to the tribal unit of the Yaminites (Benjaminites). Zimri-Lim himself mentions a voyage to Yamhad, cf. G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 49 (perhaps a meeting with the crown prince according to P.Villard, UF 18 [1986] 392 n.34) and ARM XXIV 197, XXV 450 (Zimri-Lim 8').
- 76 G.Dossin apud A.Parrot, Syria 18 (1937) 74 n.1; G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 49, cf. GS II 331.
- 77 G.Dossin, RA 64 (1970) 97-103, published again, with corrections, as ARM XXIII 556; cf. A.Malamat, IEJ 21 (1971) 31-38. For the relations of Syria with Cyprus cf. H.Giorgiou, Levant 11 (1979) 84-100; H.Klengel, SMEA 24 (1984) 7-19. For Ishhi-Dagan, a trader of tin mentioned in the Mari texts, cf. J.-R.Kupper, in: M.Lebeau - Ph.Talon (eds.), *Reflets des Deux Fleuves* (Fs. A.Finet), Leuven 1989, 91, for further references to Hazor see A.Malamat, *ibid.* 117 f.
- 78 G.Dossin, Syria 19 (1938) 117 f.
- 79 ARM XXVI 303 = AEM I/2 pp.56-59, dated Zimri-Lim year 9'.
- 80 ARM XXVI 11 = AEM I/1 pp.107-109. - U.Bahadır Alkım, BaM 7 (1974) 12, proposed to consider the ruler of the city at the site of Tilmen Hüyük in the Amanus region as one of these local rulers in the kingdom of Yamhad.

Yarim-Lim in northern Syria was supported by the good relations with kings such as Aplahanda of Karkamish, Shennam of Urshum, Zimri-Lim of Mari and, at least in principle, with Amutpi'el of Qatna; the influence of Yarim-Lim reached far into Mesopotamia. He intervened even in central and transjordanian Mesopotamia, as is shown by the letter to Yashubiyahad of Der (cf. above). He was also on good terms with Ibni-Adad, king of Hazor in northern Palestine.<sup>81</sup> As to Babylon, Yarim-Lim helped Hammurapi by sending auxiliary troops; it is possible, that the meeting between Yarim-Lim and Zimri-Lim discussed this point among others.<sup>82</sup> The military support to Babylon was then realized during the time of Hammurapi (I) of Yamhad, i.e. some time after the death of Yarim-Lim, but the alliance had its origin in the policy of Yarim-Lim, as is explicitly said in the letter ARM XXVI 468; a fragmentary text, still unpublished, contains a proposal for alliance made by Hammurapi of Babylon to Yarim-Lim of Yamhad and Amutpi'el of Qatna.<sup>83</sup> About this time (i.e. year Zimri-Lim 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>) Gubla was ruled by Yantinhammu, who appears together with Yarim-Lim in ARM XXV 48+, where also Gashera, wife of Yarim-Lim, and Hammurapi, the crown prince, are mentioned (cf. also ARM XXIII 556). Yarim-Lim died, as it seems, during the year Zimri-Lim 9<sup>th</sup>.

#### Hammurapi (I).

Already during his time as a crown prince Hammurapi was actively taking part in the diplomatic and economic contacts.<sup>84</sup> He acceded to the throne, as it becomes clear from the Mari texts, immediately after the death of his father, i.e. in the year Zimri-Lim 9<sup>th</sup>, which obviously corresponds to the year 28 of Hammurapi of Babylon (c.1765). His death is not recorded in the Mari texts, but it seems probable that he was still ruling in Halab when Mari was submitted and destroyed by the Babylonians (i.e. after 1761).

Hammurapi I of Yamhad is mentioned together with Zimri-Lim of Mari, Hammurapi of Babylon, Yatar'ami of Karkamish, Shennam of Urshu, Ibni-Adad of Hazor; also Anishhurpi of Hashum should be considered as a contemporary of Hammurapi's rule.<sup>85</sup>

The reign of Hammurapi I (cf. GSI 123 ff.) was determined by good relations with Mari, and a letter of Zimri-Lim and one of the year dates of this king<sup>86</sup> indicate that there came about a personal meeting between Hammurapi and Zimri-Lim on the territory of Yamhad. The reason for this event is not clear, but one of the points discussed was the problem of pasture land (with semi-nomadic encampments) of Karkamish, which obviously was of interest for both sides. Friendly relations with

81 Cf. ARM XXIII 556, XXV 43 and 103.

82 P.Villard, ARM XXIII p.472 f. and UF 18 (1986) 408.

83 D.Charpin, ARM XXVI = AEM I/2 p.128.

84 Cf. ARM XXV 48+, also ARM X 131 and 132, etc.

85 Cf. ARM II 68, XXIII 524, XXV 14, 23, 26, 43, 48, RA 36, 48, etc. (see below).

86 G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 49; id., in: Studia Mariana, Leiden 1950, 59.

Ugarit are implied in a letter sent by Hammurapi I to Zimri-Lim.<sup>87</sup> The ruler of the harbour city, not mentioned by name, had asked Hammurapi to mediate between himself and the king of Mari because of a planned visit to the famous palace of Zimri-Lim. Although the Mari texts give evidence for trade connections between Ugarit and Mari, especially so far as copper and tin are concerned, the ruler of Ugarit considered it better to have the help of the king of Yamhad, whose close relations with Mari were well known and who was the ruler dominating northern inland Syria. There is no proof so far that this visit was realized.

The relations with Hammurapi of Babylon were also well established.<sup>88</sup> Auxiliary troops were sent to Babylon in order to support the namesake on the throne<sup>89</sup>. It seems that this alliance had already been initiated by Yarim-Lim (cf. above). These troops included tribal contingents (Yaminites)<sup>90</sup>, and Mari was not only a station on the route from Yamhad to Babylon, but could also dispose of these forces for its own purposes.<sup>91</sup>

Hammurapi of Yamhad was a contemporary ruler with Yatar'ami of Karkamish, who was king as successor of his father Aplahanda from about year 10' of Zimri-Lim.<sup>92</sup> The subservient address of Yatar'ami to Hammurapi and the fact that the kings of Mari and Yamhad discussed a question concerning the pastures belonging to Karkamish could point to a subordinate status of the ruler of Karkamish, and texts from Tell Leilan in upper Mesopotamia indicate the dominant rule of Yamhad even in the Habur area.<sup>93</sup> To the south of Yamhad, Qatna was still an independent and powerful state. At the time when Hammurapi of Yamhad came to the throne, Amutpi'el was already ruler of Qatna (since about Zimri-Lim 9'), and it was this king who established better relations to both Yamhad and Mari. The texts to be attributed to the reign of Amutpi'el give no witness for further struggle between Qatna and its northern neighbour, Yamhad.

87 G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 49; cf. A.Parrot, Syria 18 (1937) 74 n.1 and CLF.-A.Schaeffer, Ugaritica I, Paris 1939, 16 n.2.

88 Cf. the summarizing study of H.Klengel, in: Ö.Tunca (ed.), De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari (Fs. J.-R.Kupper), Liège 1990, 183-195, also J.-R.Kupper, in: H.-J.Nissen - J.Renger (eds.), Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn, Berlin 1982, 173-185.

89 Cf. ARM II 21, 68, 71, 75, III 13, 30, XIV 83 and H.Klengel (see above) 193 f. Cf. also the ordeal ARM XXVI 253 = AEM I/1 p.532 f. concerning troops from Yamhad. - Missions of sons of Hammurapi of Babylon to Mari and Yamhad or Qatna are mentioned in a letter of Yarim-Adad, representative of Zimri-Lim at the court of Babylon; the text could be dated into the early years of Hammurapi I of Yamhad: ARM XXVI 375 = AEM I/2 p.185 f.

90 D.Soubeyran, ARM XXIII pp.358-368, cf. GS I 126.

91 J.-R.Kupper, RA 41 (1947) 170; M.Birot, BO 19 (1962) 169 f.

92 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 120 and 36 (1939) 48; cf. GS I 24 ff.

93 J.Eidem, NABU 1987/123 b.

Abba'el

A seal inscription from Alalakh (AlT \*444 b, \*442 b)<sup>94</sup> mentions the filiation Abba'el, son of Hammurapi, king of Yamhad. The name of the seal-owner is written Ab-ba-AN, leaving open the question of reading, either as Abban or – more suggestive – Abba'el. The identity of the father of Abba'el is not definite, but it seems that he was Hammurapi I of Yamhad, son and successor of Yarim-Lim I. If so, this would link the Alalakh texts of level VII, i.e. the older archives, with the material from the archives of Mari. It is not clear whether Abba'el succeeded to the throne immediately after the death of his father, thus coinciding with the last years of Hammurapi of Babylon. An Old Babylonian letter, addressed to a certain Abba'el by king Samsuiluna of Babylon, son and successor of Hammurapi (AbB VII 1), could provide an important synchronism; the letter informs about a mission to Halab.<sup>95</sup> The only other synchronism so far available is given by some Alalakh texts which mention Yarim-Lim, ruler of Alalakh and brother of Abba'el (AlT \*1, \*56, \*456). But Yarim-Lim was not considered as an independent ruler of an own kingdom; he was the owner of a "master-household" (*oikos*) within the territory of the kingdom of Yamhad.<sup>96</sup> When mentioned in the same context with the king of Yamhad, Yarim-Lim was called only "man" of Alalakh; the title of a king was given to the rulers of the Alalakh *oikos* later on, when the kings of Yamhad began to designate themselves as "great kings".

The sequence of the kings of Yamhad as documented by the Alalakh VII tablets is partly disputed; with regard to the rulers of Alalakh different opinions are held without arguments which could convince conclusively.<sup>97</sup>

94 D.Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27), Kevelaer – Neukirchen/Vluyn 1975, 6 and 146; cf also D.R.Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (2003–1595), Toronto 1990, 786 f. – The cylinder seals from Alalakh furnish no further evidence for the royal seals pertaining to the political history, cf. D.Collon, *The Alalakh cylinder seals. A new catalogue of the actual seals excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Tell Atchana and from neighbouring sites on the Syrian-Turkish border*, Oxford 1982. – For the following presentation of the Alalakh VII rulers cf. E.Gaál, *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio historica*, XXII, Budapest 1982, 3–53 (abbr. Gaál 1982).

95 F.R.Kraus, AbB VII (1977) no.1 n.a, assumes Sippar as the place of discovery of this tablet. This could mean that the letter never did arrive at Halab, but was stopped on the route at Sippar. The reason (death of the addressee ?) is not clear.

96 H.Klengel, in: E.Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II (OLA 6), Leuven 1979, 435–457.

97 The texts from Alalakh VII focus on the "*oikos*" of the rulers of Alalakh. The overlords, i.e. the kings of Halab, appear only occasionally, especially with their year dates. Another problem is posed by homonymy. The rulers of Yamhad and Alalakh sometimes bear the same names, and the possibilities opened by the reference to a Yarim-Lim are confounding. Cf. Gaál 1982 and, more recently, M.-H.Gates, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? II*, Gothenburg 1987, 60–86. Taking Alalakh and the other places in possession of the local "dynasty" of this city as part of the kingdom of Yamhad, the problem of the number of Alalakh rulers (two or four) is of secondary importance in this outline.

An important event of the reign of Abba'el was the installation of his brother Yarim-Lim as ruler in Alalakh (AIT \*1, \*456).<sup>98</sup> Alalakh and other towns or villages were given to Yarim-Lim as a compensation for Irrite in upper Mesopotamia, which was destroyed by the troops of Abba'el after an uprising against Yamhad. Alalakh became the residence of Yarim-Lim, who controlled from here his *oikos* which was dispersed over northern Syria from the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates. This household was his "share" in the heritage of his father, Hammurapi I. The restitution of the domination of Yamhad over the western parts of northern Mesopotamia by Abba'el proves that these regions formed a territory of Yamhad at least since the time of Yarim-Lim I. It is not clear whether there was a connection between the events in upper Mesopotamia and the death of Hammurapi of Babylon and/or Hammurapi of Yamhad. Emar also belonged to Yamhad,<sup>99</sup> and Karkamish was under control or influence of Halab too (cf. AIT \*349), although this is not proved convincingly. In the south Yamhad had a common "border" with the territory ruled by the king of Qatna. As far as Ugarit is concerned, there is no reference to Ugarit as part of Yamhad, although the mouth of the Orontes was surely dominated by Yamhad and king Yarim-Lim I had visited this city with his court (and Zimri-Lim).<sup>100</sup> The exchange of whole villages, or better: of the income of these settlements, as shown by AIT \*1 and \*456, is also the subject of AIT \*76 and \*77, both datable into the time of Abba'el. It seems that the kings of Yamhad tried to hinder a closer connection between the owners of the villages in question and the communities.<sup>101</sup> A purchase contract concerning a village (AIT \*56) mentions Yarim-Lim, brother of Abba'el, among the witnesses after the king himself.<sup>102</sup>

98 For AIT \*456 see D.J. Wiseman, JCS 12 (1958) 124–129; as far as AIT \*1 is concerned, a new interpretation of lines 1–20 is proposed by N. Na'aman, JNES 39 (1980) 209 f. and D.R. Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595), Toronto 1990, 799 f. For the discussion of an alleged reference to Hattusha in AIT \*456 cf. A. Draffkorn-Kilmer, JCS 13 (1959) 94–97, and W.G. Lambert, JCS 13 (1959) 132; for both texts cf. GS I 136–139.

99 New evidence comes from some still unpublished texts quoted by J.-M. Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 39–92.

100 The delivery of wool by a certain Puruqu, "man" of Ugarit (AIT \*358) is not enough to suppose a continuation of Yamhad's dominance on Ugarit; the text can not be dated with certainty into the sequence of rulers of Yamhad; cf. GS II 334 and H. Klengel, OLZ 57 (1962) 454; K.A. Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142.

101 Together with the villages, also so-called *eperum* land was exchanged; cf. for the problem H. Klengel, in: P. Garelli (ed.), *Le Palais et la Royauté*, Paris 1974, 278–281; E. Gaál, *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio historica*, XVII, Budapest 1976, 3–14.

102 B. Kienast, WO 11 (1980) 55–57. O. Rouault, *L'Archive de Puzurum* (Terqa Final Reports 1 = *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 16), Malibu 1984, p. XVII, refers to TFR 1.8:20 and assumes that the *Yapah-sum[u]* mentioned there could perhaps be identical with the *Yapah-sumu-abi* UGULA HANA of AIT \*56:47. If so, this could imply that he was a contemporary of Abba'el of Yamhad and Yarim-Lim of Alalakh. Did he escape to Halab when Hammurapi of Babylon conquered the land of Hana?

Yarim-Lim (II).

The succession of Yarim-Lim after his father Abba'el as king of Yamhad is testified by a seal inscription, where he designates himself as son of Abba'el and "beloved of the god Adad" (ALT \*444 a).<sup>103</sup> He himself was the father of Niqmepa (cf. the seal ALT \*7 and \*11).<sup>104</sup> An identity of this Yarim-Lim with Yarim-Lim I or the brother of Abba'el is ruled out by ALT \*444 a. Nevertheless, an attribution of text references to Yarim-Lim II is problematical because of the frequency of this proper name in the texts of Alalakh; the same is true for an estimation of the length of the reign of Yarim-Lim II, vacillating between "ephemeral" to "fairly long" (cf. Gaál 1982, 5). Even if a number of texts could be attributed to the reign of Yarim-Lim II, there is no prominent political event mentioned for this period.

Niqmepa.

That Niqmepa (Niqmi'epuh) was a son of Yarim-Lim (II) is proved by the seal ALT \*7 and \*11: "Niqmepa, son of Yarim-Lim, king of Yamhad, beloved of the god [Adad]" (cf. above). Niqmepa has left 4 date formulas, used by the rulers of Alalakh thus confirming their subordination to the kings of Yamhad. These year dates show Niqmepa as a contemporary of Yarim-Lim and Ammitakum of Alalakh (cf. ALT \*7 and \*9). The change of rule at Alalakh must therefore have occurred during the reign of Niqmepa. Year date (a), on ALT \*7, \*8 and \*55, refers to the conquest of Arazik, a town located south of Karkamish on the Euphrates.<sup>105</sup> Date (b), on ALT \*63, mentions the dedication of his royal figure to the weather-god, obviously the weather-god of Halab, to whom also Zimri-Lim of Mari had dedicated a statue. Date (c), on ALT \*11, informs on the return of Niqmepa from Nishin(?), a place not known from other Alalakh texts<sup>106</sup> but certainly inside the territory of Niqmepa, because the date seems to refer to travel and not a military campaign. The place name Mutani (date d), is not known elsewhere so far. Thus the year dates b-d and the other texts of his rule<sup>107</sup> contribute little to the political history of Yamhad at this time, but date (a) could imply that the control of Yamhad over regions east of the Euphrates had already weakened.

103 D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27), Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, 8 and 146; cf. also GS I 155; Gaál 1982, 10 and D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (2003–1595), Toronto 1990, 788 ff.

104 For discussion of the identity of Yarim-Lim mentioned in the Alalakh texts cf. Gaál 1982, 5–11, also GS I 172 n.117 and D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions* (see above) 146 ff.

105 Cf. GS I 140 and III 90, also Kh. Nashef, RGTC 5 (1982) 36. For the site of Tell el-Hajj near the village of Aruda an identity with ancient Arazik was taken into consideration by Cl. Krause – K. Schuler – R.A. Starcky, *Tell el Hajj in Syrien. Erster vorläufiger Bericht, Grabungskampagne 1971*, Bern 1972.

106 Nishin probably appears in a topographical list of Tuthmosis III, if we follow M.C. Astour, JNES 22 (1963) 230, who proposes a location at Tel Nishin / Telanissos (Deir Sim'an).

107 Cf. GS I 140 f. and Gaál 1982, 11–13.

Irkabtum.

The successor of Niqmepa was his son Irkabtum; his name could be read in a seal-inscription impressed on a small fragment, ALT \* 443 a: "[Irk]abtum, [s]on of Niqmepa, king of Yamha[d], beloved of [god Adad(?)]".<sup>108</sup> Several year formulas refer to Irkabtum, giving some information as to the political history of Yamhad: ALT \*54 is a text of Ammitakum of Alalakh, who purchased a settlement named Age from a certain Irkabtum, son of the priest Ammitakum. The text is dated with a year formula of Irkabtum: "Year, when Irkabtum became king", which is also to be found on ALT \*38, mentioning a slave of Yarim-Lim (of Alalakh). This would make Irkabtum a contemporary ruler of both Yarim-Lim and Ammitakum (if the first one is really meant in ALT \*38). Another date, on ALT \*33, mentions a rebellion(?) of the town Nashtarbi, to be localized perhaps east of the Euphrates in upper Mesopotamia.<sup>109</sup> It is not to be excluded that the decay of Yamhad's power east of the Euphrates was connected with the emergence of a series of Hurrian principalities in northern Mesopotamia, the overlord of which became the king of Hurri-Mittani later on. Tablet ALT \*58 is dated by another year formula of Irkabtum, pointing to a good relationship with a certain Shemuba and troops/people formerly understood as Hapiru.<sup>110</sup> As the proper name Irkabtum appears also in some other texts, it would be possible to augment this evidence for the rule of Irkabtum of Yamhad, but the identification remains uncertain. In case the Irkabtum of ALT \*35 is really identical with the son of Niqmepa, then he came to Alalakh in order to attend the wedding of the son of Ammitakum of Alalakh, who is called "king", with the daughter of the "man" of Ebla. This should have happened when Irkabtum was not yet king of Yamhad.<sup>111</sup>

Yarim-Lim (III).

The next ruler of Yamhad was Yarim-Lim III; also in this case the frequency of this name in the Alalakh texts makes it difficult to assign some of the textual material to his rule. He was a son of Niqmepa and thus brother of Irkabtum,<sup>112</sup> and he was contemporary with Ammitakum of Alalakh who used two of the year formulas of Yarim-Lim beside his own dates.<sup>113</sup> The date on ALT \*6 indicates a conflict with Qatna, if we are justified in reading the toponym in this way (cf. GS II 106). The same text is of importance as to the succession to the throne of Alalakh: In the presence of Yarim-Lim (III) Ammitakum designates Hammurapi as future king of Alalakh, stressing the fact that Hammurapi will also be a servant of Yarim-Lim. In this connection the name and title of a certain Zukrashi are mentioned, linking —

108 GSI 156 f. and Gaál 1982, 13–15; D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions* (cf. above) 10 and 148.

109 M.C. Astour, *UF* 2 (1970) 5; N. Na'aman, *AnSt* 29 (1979) 107 n.17.

110 M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, *ZA* 60 (1970) 119 n.29 (after collation the reading is left unclear).

111 Cf. Gaál 1982, 14 f.

112 Gaál 1982, 15; cf. GSI 143 f. and 156. Of importance is KBo XIX 91, duplicate of KUB XXXI 5 II 1'ff., cf. H. Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 53.

113 ALT \*6, \*27, \*37, \*44, \*61.

together with the names of Yarim-Lim (III) and Hammurapi (II) – the tradition of Alalakh with evidence from Hattusha / Boghazköy (cf. below).<sup>114</sup> Some other texts from Alalakh (ALT \*79, \*95, \*126, \*455) are still discussed as to their attribution to either Yarim-Lim II or III.<sup>115</sup>

### Hammurapi (II).

Yarim-Lim (III) was followed by his son, Hammurapi (II), namesake of the crown prince of Alalakh, son of Ammitakum.<sup>116</sup> Hammurapi appears as son of Yarim-Lim (and crown prince) in a Hittite tradition referring to the time of the military campaigns of Hattushili I in northern Syria: KUB XXXI 5, supplemented by KBo XIX 91 (duplicate), gives in col. II 1'f. the names of Yarim-Lim and – after a short lacuna – Hammurapi, his son.<sup>117</sup> Two Alalakh tablets of Ammitakum (ALT \*21 and \*22), which are possibly written on the same day, are dated by a formula of Hammurapi (II), pointing to his accession to the throne; a similar year date is to be found on ALT \*39, belonging to the very end of level VII or already to level VI.<sup>118</sup> A Hammurapi is mentioned, in broken context, also in the Akkadian fragment KBo XXVIII 143:6'; he could be identical with Hammurapi of Yamhad. It is not to be excluded that an Old Babylonian letter, pointing to a diplomatic contact between the kings of Halab and of Babylon, could date from the time when Hammurapi II was ruler of Yamhad.<sup>119</sup>

Thus a sequence of Yamhad rulers can be established, more or less with certainty, for about two centuries. As Halab remained the strongest power of Syria until the conquest by Murshili I of Hatti, it could serve as a reference point for the presentation of the political history of this period.

- 114 Cf. GS I 146 ff.; C.Kühne, ZA 62 (1972) 242 ff.; H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 53 f.; see also A.Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze II B-Zeit (1650–1570 v.Chr.)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 14 ff. – A Hurrian-Hittite bilingual from Boghazköy, written in the 15th/14th centuries but referring to a situation in Syria some time before the attack of Hattushili I, mentions a certain Meki as a leading personality of Ebla and foretells a destruction of Ebla with its walls of the upper and lower city and its market-place; H.Otten, in: H.Hauptmann – H. Waetzoldt (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla (HSAO 2)*, Heidelberg 1988, 291 f. Cf. the ensi of Ebla bearing the name Megum(?): D.I.Owen – R.Veenker, in: L.Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985*, Napoli 1987, 267–291 ?
- 115 Cf. GS I 143 ff. and Gaál 1982, 5 ff. The starting point of Gaál's discussion is the assumption of two Ammitakum as rulers of Alalakh (cf. Gaál 1982, 27); there is still no certainty because of the problems posed by the textual material itself.
- 116 GS II 444 f. and Gaál 1982, 15.
- 117 C.Kühne, ZA 62 (1972) 245; H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 53 f. For the historical situation cf. below.
- 118 For the chronology of the levels VII to V of Alalakh cf. now M.-H.Gates, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 60–86.
- 119 VS XVI 24, cf. P.Kraus, MVAG 35/2 (1930) 37 f., B.Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 62 f., F.R.Kraus, RA 65 (1971) 11, H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 52.



## 2) Other Syrian principalities and political centres.

### (a) Qatna.

It was mentioned above that Qatna was one of the major states during the period between c.1800 and 1600 B.C.. The textual information comes from Mari and, although very limited, from Alalakh. Rulers of Qatna are only indicated by the Mari texts, which gave much attention to the neighbour in the west, controlling the end of the desert route leading from the Euphrates to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>120</sup>

The first king of Qatna attested so far is Ishhi-Adad (cf. GS II 98 ff), contemporary of Sumu'epuh of Yamhad, Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria, Yasmah-Adad of Mari and Ishme-Dagan of Ekallatum (on the Tigris). He ruled at the same time, although they are not directly mentioned together, with Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad, Aplahanda of Karkamish, Hammurapi of Babylon, Rim-Sin of Larsa, etc. The accession to the throne is not mentioned in the Mari texts, but could be dated into the time when Sumu'epuh ruled in Yamhad. Ishhi-Adad died when Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad was still ruling, and before the end of the rule of Yasmah-Adad in Mari, i.e. before c.1776/1775. The change of rule in Qatna, from Ishhi-Dagan to Amutpi'el, was therefore earlier than that in Halab (from Yarim-Lim to Hammurapi) and in Karkamish (from Aplahanda to Yatar'ami).

The father of Ishhi-Adad is not known to us, but it seems that Ishhi-Adad was not the founder of the dynasty: Shamshi-Adad I refers in a letter addressed to his son Yasmah-Adad (ARM I 77) to the good name of the "house" of Qatna.

Shamshi-Adad, who opposed the expansion of Yamhad east of the Euphrates, was interested in having good contacts with Qatna, situated at the southern flank of Yamhad. In order to strengthen the position of his son Yasmah-Adad of Mari and to secure the route to central Syria, he arranged a dynastic marriage between his son and a daughter of Ishhi-Adad, Beltum.<sup>121</sup> There is evidence that the royal bride arrived safely on the Euphrates and that she resided in the palace of Yasmah-Adad.<sup>122</sup> The political intentions of Shamshi-Adad obviously came into conflict with the personal ambitions of Yasmah-Adad later on, as is clearly indicated by the admonition given to

120 For the routes to Qatna see J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 159-167 (with map on p.162); for Emar - Qatna see J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 42.

121 Cf. ARM I 46, I 77, II 51 and G.Dossin, Bulletin 1954, 421 f., D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 312-315 (princess of Qatna to Mari in the eponymy of Ikuppi / Asqudum, i.e. before the year 11 of Hammurapi of Babylon) and J.-M.Durand, ib. 406. Further textual material concerning this marriage is discussed by J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 276-295.

122 J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 398-407. As it seems, the first meeting between Beltum (perhaps a personal name?, cf. D.Charpin, NABU 1987/116) and Yasmah-Adad took place at Terqa, cf. B.Lafont, in: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 167, also D.Charpin, MARI 3 (1984) 96 no.90: receipt of oil "when the royal bride was accompanied from Qatna". ARM XXVI 298 = AEM I/2 p.26 f. points to problems which arose after the arrival of Beltum at Mari because of her ignorance of the habits in Mari and refers to a - not serious - disease of her.

the latter, not to neglect or even drive out from the palace the daughter of Ishhi-Adad in order to avoid political complications with the ally in Qatna.<sup>123</sup>

In one of the letters sent by Shamshi-Adad to Ishhi-Adad (ARM I 24, cf. ARM I 42) the information on the arrival of the bride from Qatna is connected with the alliance of Shamshi-Adad and Ishhi-Adad directed against Sumu'epuh of Yamhad. It was intended to take Sumu'epuh prisoner and then to extradite him to Ishhi-Adad. Some texts could corroborate the impression that Sumu'epuh, northern neighbour of Qatna, was the main enemy of Ishhi-Adad (ARM V 17+, cf. IV 10)<sup>124</sup>, who undertook razzias against villages of Qatna or the pastures. It is not to be excluded that the dynasties of Yamhad and Qatna had their origin in different tribal units, as Simalites and Yaminites.<sup>125</sup> A coalition against Yamhad was in the interest of Qatna and Shamshi-Adad as well. There is no evidence so far that Ishhi-Adad took part actively in the fights against Sumu'epuh and, later, Yarim-Lim I. Several Mari texts indicate military support given by the "kingdom of upper Mesopotamia" to Qatna.<sup>126</sup> The sending of auxiliary troops from Mari to Qatna under the command of Sumu-nihim and Samidahim (ARM I 11, II 15, cf. I 23) certainly belongs into the time of Ishhi-Adad; ARM V 19 shows that these contingents stayed longer in Qatna than it was originally planned by Shamshi-Adad. The return of the troops from Qatna is indicated by ARM I 13, and ARM I 20 mentions the fact that these soldiers were stationed in the region of Tuttul at the mouth of the Balikh, perhaps for a future action against Yamhad.

Other Mari texts concern the personal participation of Yasmah-Adad in a march from Mari to Qatna. ARM II 51, a letter addressed to Yasmah-Adad, his "brother", by Ishhi-Adad, the sender asks the addressee to bring with him the daughter of the king of Qatna when coming from there at the head of an army. This could favour the idea that some time had passed between the voyage of the royal bride from Qatna to Mari and the date of the letter. ARM V 16 gives a hint to a "favourable" situation for an action against enemies of Ishhi-Adad, perhaps after the death of Sumu'epuh. ARM I 69, sent by Shamshi-Adad to his son in Mari, praises Ishme-Dagan for his success against the Turukkeans and other enemies, and Yasmah-Adad is asked to prove himself as a real man when going to Qatna. Shamshi-Adad also gives his advice to Yasmah-Adad not to leave Mari for Qatna before having checked the problem of water supply on the road through the desert (ARM I 85). We do not know whether Yasmah-Adad really went to Qatna or not; the death of Ishhi-Adad or other events could have happened before the project was realized. As it seems, Ishhi-Adad also had planned a personal visit to Mari (ARM V 53, cf. 58).

Already these texts mentioned above demonstrate that there was a correspondence between Qatna and the representatives of the "kingdom of upper Mesopotamia", who had their residences in Shubat-Enlil and Mari. Yasmah-Adad was

123 G.Dossin, *Bulletin* 1954, 421 f.; J.-M.Durand, *MARI* 4 (1985) 399 n.25 and 406.

124 Joins with A.1882, see J.-M.Durand, *MARI* 5 (1987) 167-170.

125 D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, *RA* 80 (1986) 141-183.

126 ARM I 11, 13 (cf. *MARI* 3, 1984, 140), 20, 23, 42, 69, 85+, ARM II 5, 51, ARM V 16, 18 (cf. *MARI* 5, 1987, 189), 19; also ARM V 18.

asked to forward letters to Qatna (ARM I 45, 48, 49, 84, 105) or to take care of messengers.<sup>127</sup> Beside the correspondence between Yasmah-Adad and Ishhi-Adad (cf. GS II 98 f.) we could therefore assume that a number of letters sent by Shamshi-Adad himself arrived at Qatna; they are now possibly buried in the ruins of the palace of Ishhi-Adad at Tell Mishrife, waiting for their discovery. Yasmah-Adad, being responsible for a region serving as a turn-table of inter-regional communication, was not only a mediator in this correspondence and messenger's traffic, but also in trade connections. Along the route between Qatna and Mari goods from Syria, northern Palestine and the Levant – such as timber, horses or other precious merchandise – were transported to the Euphrates and from there to northern or southern Mesopotamia.<sup>128</sup> ARM XXVI 530 (AEM I/2 p.523 f.) indicates the existence of a trading centre (*karum*) at Qatna. A letter mentions a food-ration as supply for 10 days for a caravan leaving Terqa for Qatna (ARM I 66); thus it seems that this period was considered as the maximum needed for the distance Terqa – Qatna.<sup>129</sup>

Part of the territory of the Qatna kingdom was steppe, serving as a periodical pasture (cf. ARM V 15) and home of semi-nomadic tribes. Qatna, Mari, and Yamhad had their share in the pastures north of Tadmur; not only in Mari (cf. ARM V 23), but also in Qatna and Halab the administration paid attention to the movements of the tribal groups of this area, especially in case there were razzias affecting the caravan route or villages as Tadmur or Nashala (Qaryatein).<sup>130</sup>

#### Amutpi'el

The successor of Ishhi-Adad on the throne of Qatna was Amutpi'el (cf. GS II 127 ff.).<sup>131</sup> His reign is documented only by Mari texts of the time of Zimri-Lim. They do not give the name of the father of Amutpi'el so far, but probably the succession went from father to son, i.e. from Ishhi-Adad to Amutpi'el. The first dated texts pertaining to his reign come from the early years of Zimri-Lim, starting with year Zimri-Lim 2'.<sup>132</sup> This means that Amutpi'el came to the throne during the later

127 ARM I 15, 88, 100, V 58, XXVI 137 (AEM I/1 p.300), cf. G.Dossin, RSO 32 (1957) 37 f. (A.2760).

128 Cf. ARM I 7, 54, 58, ARM V 20. The rulers of Qatna participated in the "gift exchange" with the courts of Western Asia. For the importance of the middle Euphrates region and the routes to Qatna cf. H.Klengel, AAAS 34 (1983) 25–32; J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 159–167 (according to ARM I 85 + A.1195); for Qatna as alternative to Yamhad cf. AbB II 177 and ARM I 63 + M.11322 (J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 [1987] 181 f.).

129 For suggestions concerning the route between the Euphrates valley and Qatna see C.Kühne, Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna (AOAT 17), Kevelaer – Neukirchen/Vluyn 1973, 119 n.598; J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 159–167.

130 H.Klengel, Iraq 39 (1977) 163–169; cf. ARM V 23 (attack on Nashala) and ARM XXV 28 (contact Nashala – Mari).

131 Shuhalan (ARM VII 169 and XXII 167) was not an enigmatic king of Qatna (cf. J.-R.Kupper, MARI 3 [1984] 184), but only an inhabitant of this city (J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 [1985] 401 n.110).

132 ARM II 87, ARM XXI 331, 333; ARM XXIII 230; cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 401.

years of Yarim-Lim of Yamhad, an argument which is corroborated by a letter of Zimri-Lim quoting a text addressed to Amutpi'el where also messengers of Yarim-Lim are mentioned (ARM XXVI 25 = AEM I/1 pp.154-157) and a fragmentary message of Hammurapi of Babylon, who made a proposal for alliance to Yarim-Lim of Halab and Amutpi'el of Qatna.<sup>133</sup> Amutpi'el is witnessed as a contemporary ruler with Hammurapi of Babylon, Rim-Sin of Larsa, and Ibalpi'el (II) of Eshnunna<sup>134</sup>. He must have ruled also during the reigns of Hammurapi I of Yamhad, Aplahanda and Yatar'ami of Karkamish<sup>135</sup>, Shennam of Urshu (ARM XXIII 524, XXV 23, years Zimri-Lim 8'/10'), Ibni-Adad of Hazor (ARM XXIII 556, XXV 43), the Turukkean leader Zaziya (ARM XXI 333), and Yashubiyahad of Der.<sup>136</sup> Yarim-Lim died about the year 28 of Hammurapi of Babylon (cf. above)<sup>137</sup>, and it was year 31 of Hammurapi which was named after the elimination of Rim-Sin of Larsa, while years 33 and 35 point to Hammurapi's victory over Mari. It is probable, then, that Amutpi'el was still ruling when the archives of Mari were brought to an end.

The famous letter of Iturasdu (Syria 19, 117 f.) mentions Amutpi'el among the most powerful rulers of his time; 10 to 15 "kings" are said to follow him, the same number as given to the rulers of Larsa, Babylon, and Eshnunna. It seems that among these subordinate "kings" were also tribal chiefs having their pastures in the region controlled by Qatna.

Amutpi'el established better relations with Yamhad and Mari. According to a letter of an official quoting the opinion of Hammurapi of Babylon<sup>138</sup>, Zimri-Lim was considered a possible mediator between Yamhad and Qatna. The king of Mari was not only on very good terms with Yamhad, but was also in close commercial contact with Qatna. Perhaps it was before the reconciliation between Qatna and its direct neighbours in the north and the east that Zimri-Lim sent a letter to the king of Karkamish, Aplahanda, asking him for support in the form of troops from Yamhad (!), Qatna and Zalmaqum (in upper Mesopotamia).<sup>139</sup> It is also possible that the meeting of Zimri-Lim and Yarim-Lim of Yamhad shortly before the death of the king of Yamhad had relations with Qatna as one of its topics. The officials of Mari who accompanied Yarim-Lim afterwards to Ugarit then returned to Mari on a route which perhaps touched upon the territory of Qatna.<sup>140</sup> Yarim-Lim of Yamhad was

133 M.9739, see D.Charpin, ARM XXVI = AEM I/2 p.128.

134 G.Dossin, Syria 19 (1938) 117 f. (cf. GS I 105). For synchronisms between Zimri-Lim and Ibalpi'el see D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 306 (rule of Ibalpi'el 1779-1766 = Hammurapi of Babylon, years 14 - 27) and D.Charpin, in: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 52 (Ibalpi'el 5 = Zimri-Lim 1).

135 Cf. GS II 127 and ARM XXV 22 (year Zimri-Lim 10').

136 G.Dossin, Syria 33 (1956) 63-69; J.Sasson, in: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 237-255.

137 M.Birot, Syria 55 (1978) 333-343.

138 G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 50. A period of tensions between Yamhad and Qatna at the time of Hammurapi I of Yamhad is suggested by J.-M.Durand, MARI 6 (1990) 40 n.6.

139 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 117 f., cf. RA 36 (1939) 51.

140 Cf. P.Villard, UF 18 (1986) 387-412.

ready to make peace with Qatna under the condition that Amutpi'el should come to Halab, thus acknowledging the superiority of Yamhad.<sup>141</sup> There is no text which could prove a personal meeting of Yarim-Lim and Amutpi'el; Yarim-Lim died shortly after his proposal, and the reconciliation with Hammurapi of Yamhad was probably arranged without Amutpi'el travelling to Halab.

The other textual material from Mari pertaining more or less with certainty to the reign of Amutpi'el, records no further tensions between Qatna and Yamhad. A series of texts articulates "normal" relations of both states with Mari, and messengers went to and fro including those who came from more distant places, such as Gubla, Hazor, Qab(a)ra, Eshnunna, Arrapha, Babylon, and Elam.<sup>142</sup> A text difficult to interpret points to troops of Eshnunna on the way to Qatna (ARM XIII 46).<sup>143</sup> Qatna sent auxiliary troops to Mari where they were stationed at Saggaratum (ARM XIV 69)<sup>144</sup>; this was done already during the early years of Zimri-Lim, before Qatna made peace with Halab.<sup>145</sup> Although there is some information as to problems connected with the passage of Mari (ARM II 133, VI 19, 22, 23, etc.), the political relations between Qatna and Mari and the trade routes were not seriously disturbed. A number of texts datable to the time of Amutpi'el show deliveries from and to Qatna, messengers from Qatna receiving textiles when staying in Mari, and an escort from Mari accompanying female singers on their way to Mari.<sup>146</sup> People from Qatna escorted Babylonian messengers to Babylon via Mari.<sup>147</sup> Of special importance was, also during the reign of Amutpi'el, the import of tin via Mari. Merchants of Mari went to Elam in order to purchase the precious and much demanded metal and to negotiate its distribution to

141 G.Dossin, RA 36 (1939) 51.

142 G.Dossin, Syria 20 (1939) 111, cf. RA 36 (1939) 51; ARM VI 15, 19, 78, XXIII 243, XXV 103, cf. GS II 129 f. and J.-M.Durand, MARI 3 (1984) 141 f. (ad ARM I 17); see also ARM XXVI 25 (AEM I/1 p.154 ff.). Messengers from Qatna travelling to Rim-Sin of Larsa about the time when Hammurapi of Babylon was fighting against Larsa were captured and brought to Babylon according to ARM XXVI 383 (AEM I/2 p.197 f.).

143 Cf. H.Klengel, Aof 2 (1975) 52 n.25.

144 Cf. ARM XXVI 28 (AEM I/1 p.161), also the oracle for the people of Qatna mentioned in ARM XXVI 121 (AEM I/1 p.287).

145 According to ARM XIV 65, Qatna appears together with Yamhad and Babylon in broken context, but obviously in connection with a joint venture giving support to Babylon. In the year Zimri-Lim 2' the king of Qatna, Amutpi'el, sent troops to Mari: D.Charpin - J.-M.Durand, RA 80 (1986) 172 f.

146 ARM XXI 255, XXIII 575: Amutpi'el sent a special type of wagon and wheels to Zimri-Lim, cf. the mentioning of Qatna in connection with horses in ARM V 20 and X 147. Evidenced are wine (ARM XXIII 547, received in Ugarit), a vase (ARM XXIII 542), jewelry (ARM XXV 35, 43), textiles (ARM XXIV 186). For deliveries from Mari to Qatna cf. also ARM VII 219, XXI 331, 333, XXIII 230 (textiles, silver for buying copper); singers are mentioned in ARM XXIII 28.

147 ARM XXVI 105 (AEM I/1 p.272). Wine and boxwood were transported to Babylon; at Mari a boat was rented in order to ship these goods downstream the Euphrates.

Qatna, Yamhad, Karkamish and Ugarit.<sup>148</sup> Qatna was, as could be better proved by material from places in central and coastal Syria, one of the major stations in this inter-regional trade. A letter of the time of Zimri-Lim<sup>149</sup> gives the sequence Yamhad — Qatna — Amurru, which could reflect the main north-south route through Syria and is similar to the itinerary of an Assyrian dream-book which obviously had its origin in the time of the Mari archives: Mari — Emar — Halab — Qatna — Hazor.<sup>150</sup>

After the end of the Mari archives there is only poor evidence for the history of Qatna during the following period.<sup>151</sup> The Alalakh tablets of level VII mention Qatna only twice; this does not mean that Qatna was now unimportant, but the interest of the texts of Alalakh was not concerned with other regions in the same degree as the Mari tablets. According to a year date (AIT \*6) of Yarim-Lim (III), troops of Yamhad fought against Qatna, while AIT \*259, a text about the distribution of grain, points to the presence of workers (cf. GS II 106) within the household/*oikos* of the Alalakh rulers. The Hittite invasion into northern Syria, about the middle of the 17th century, did not immediately affect the city of Qatna, which is not mentioned in the relevant Hittite records.

### (b) *Karkamish.*

#### Aplahanda.

Karkamish was certainly the most important neighbour of Yamhad in the north. The information as to the history of Karkamish during the period in question comes especially from the archives of Mari, with a text concerning the delivery of foot-gear to a man from Karkamish being the earliest testimony.<sup>152</sup> The first king of Karkamish mentioned in the 2nd millennium so far is an Amorite, Aplahanda (cf. GS I 15 ff.). It is still unknown whether he already ruled the city during the reign of Yahdun-Lim of Mari, when Karkamish is mentioned in two letters (ARM I 1 and 2). In any case, the author of both texts, Abisamar, who ruled a territory not far from Karkamish, asks for military help from Mari against Shamshi-Adad and refers to earlier hostilities of other rulers, among them the "man" of Karkamish. ARM I 1 and 2 point to an independent position of Karkamish, which acted against the territory of Abisamar as was done by Hashum, Urshum, and Yamhad. It seems that Abisamar had become a vassal or ally of Yahdun-Lim when this king of Mari extended his

148 As it seems, the trade in metal (tin) between Elam and the Levant was the special task of a certain Ishhi-Dagan, cf. ARM XXIII 355, 555, 556, also ARM VII 233 and VS XVI 30, see H.Limet, SEL 2 (1985) 43–52 and J.-R.Kupper, in: M.Lebeau — Ph.Talon (eds.), *Reflets des deux fleuves* (Fs A.Finet), Leuven 1989, 91.

149 A.2730, see G.Dossin, RSO 32 (1957) 38.

150 A.L.Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia 1956, 313; cf. GS I 194 and II 106.

151 People from Qatna appear in a text from Tell Chagar Bazar, cf. O.Loretz, in: Lišan mithurti (Fs W.von Soden, AOAT 1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 200, in case this Qatanum is identical with Qatna in Syria.

152 ARM XIX 299, period of the Shakkanakku, cf. J.-M.Durand, MARI 4 (1985) 147–172.

influence upstream along the Euphrates far to the north. Later on, Karkamish appears as a party-liner of Shamshi-Adad, again together with Urshum and Hashum and also with the tribe of the Rabbeans (ARM I 24); as it seems, Yamhad and its growing power in northern Syria was already opposed by Karkamish and other northeastern neighbours.

Aplahanda of Karkamish is abundantly witnessed by the Mari texts as a contemporary ruler with Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad, Shamshi-Adad I of the kingdom of upper Mesopotamia and Assyria, and Yasmah-Adad of Mari, but also with Zimri-Lim of Mari, Shennam of Urshum (ARM XXIII 524), Atamrum of Andariq (ARM XXV 8) and two other rulers of upper Mesopotamia, Nusugga of Shinamum and Adalshenni of Burundum.<sup>153</sup> Accordingly, he should have ruled at the same time as Sumu'epuh of Yamhad, Ishhi-Adad of Qatna, Hammurapi of Babylon, and others. Aplahanda died during the reign of Zimri-Lim; his death is mentioned in a letter of Ishtar-nasir.<sup>154</sup> Sidqulanasi, a rich and important citizen of Karkamish,<sup>155</sup> reported to Zimri-Lim that there was a change on the throne of Karkamish and quotes words of friendship towards Mari uttered by the new king, Yatar'ami.<sup>156</sup> ARM XXV 22, dated to the year 10' of Zimri-Lim and sent by Yatar'ami, points to the end of the rule of Aplahanda during the years 9' or 10' of Zimri-Lim.<sup>157</sup>

A seal of Aplahanda was discovered at Acemhöyük in Anatolia,<sup>158</sup> and a seal of Matrunna, daughter of Aplahanda, was unearthed at Ugarit.<sup>159</sup>

Aplahanda addressed several letters to Yasmah-Adad, calling him "my brother".<sup>160</sup> The cordial relations between Karkamish and Mari were, as it seems, not impaired by occasional problems as to the passage of messengers and goods.<sup>161</sup> There is evidence

153 Cf. GS I 18 ff.; A.Finet, RA 60 (1966) 24–28; H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 52 n.25; J.D.Hawkins, RLA V/5–6 (1980) 428.

154 ARM XXVI 281 (AEM I/1 p.581 f.), cf. *ibid.* the reference to A.3462 (to be published in AEM I/3), where it is said that Hammurapi of Yamhad sent a physician to Karkamish because of an illness of king Aplahanda. When this physician arrived at Dur-Sumu'epuh, he was informed that the king of Karkamish had recovered; thus he returned home to Halab.

155 Sidqulanasi was at the same time a commercial agent who took care of the supply of the court of Mari with wine, timber and grain, cf. ARM XXVI 530–550 (AEM I/2 pp.510–540). For not considering him as a kind of ambassador of Zimri-Lim at the court of Karkamish see B.Lafont, XXXIV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Istanbul 1987, Abstracts, and ARM XXV 333.

156 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 120 = ARM XXVI 537 (AEM I/2 p.529 f.).

157 Cf. M.Birot, Syria 55 (1978) 342.

158 Personal communication by Dr.Dessa Rittig, Munich.

159 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 115; cf. GS I 16. – A seal of a "servant of Aplahanda" (i.e. the king of Karkamish?), was published by J.Nougayrol, Syria 39 (1962) 188 f., cf. also J.-M.Durand, NABU 1987/51: Seal of Ahzib-Karkamish, son of Naram-[ili], servant of Apl(i)handa. Cf. D.R.Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595) Toronto 1990, 774 f.

160 ARM V 5–13, cf. G.Dossin, Syria 35 (1938) 118 f. and J.-M.Durand, MARI 5 (1987) 188 f.

161 ARM V 9 and 11, cf. ARM XIV 31 (time of Zimri-Lim).

for consignments from Aplahanda to the king of Mari, which include — besides grain — mainly wine. This product was shipped downstream along the Euphrates not only to Mari, but also to Sippar and Babylon.<sup>162</sup> Karkamish was also mediating in the trade with horses<sup>163</sup>, while tin was sent from Mari to Karkamish.<sup>164</sup> These economic contacts must have positively influenced the political relations between Karkamish and Mari. A letter, sent as response to Zimri-Lim by Satran-nasir, a Mari official residing at the court of Karkamish,<sup>165</sup> could attest to this. The sender quotes the request of Zimri-Lim for troops from Yamhad, Qatna and Zalmaqum, and the king of Karkamish was considered as a possible mediator for Zimri-Lim. Satran-nasir informed the king of Karkamish of the desire of Zimri-Lim, and Aplahanda (not named, but obviously the ruler at this time) wrote to the kings of Yamhad, Qatna and Zalmaqum for auxiliary contingents in support of Mari. It is not known whether he was successful or not, but there is evidence for troops of Yamhad and Qatna from the Mari texts (cf. above). Problems of interpretation are posed by a letter addressed by Yasimsumu to Zimri-Lim (ARM XIII 46).<sup>166</sup> The message of this functionary of the palace of Mari was sent from Karkamish and informed the "lord" in Mari on the position held by Aplahanda with regard to a "mounting" of troops from Eshnunna to Qatna. There is a lacuna in the text but it seems, that the king of Karkamish did not intend to be involved in this problem. He points to the fact that messengers of Karkamish are detained at Mari. Aplahanda and Yarim-Lim of Yamhad are mentioned together as kings to whom princes of the upper country set out in order to gain their support.<sup>167</sup> Thus the Mari texts point to the political prestige and influence of Aplahanda, although there are also hints to a dominance of Yamhad in the region of Karkamish during his later years and the reign of his successor. The fact that the king of Karkamish is not mentioned among those powerful rulers who were "followed" by other rulers,<sup>168</sup> i.e. in a text dated into the period of Zimri-Lim, could be considered as symptomatical, although it is not necessary to suppose that the king of Karkamish was one of the "followers" of Yarim-Lim.

162 ARM V 5, 6, 9, 13, VII 238, 257, IX 17, 33, X 131, XXI 95, XXIII 215, 217, XXVI 514–521, 536–539; VS XVI 52 = P. Kraus, *MVAG* 36 (1931) 2, G. Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938) 117, A. Finet, *AfO* 25 (1974–1977) 122–131 and — for the rising price of wine between Karkamish and Mari — J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 2 (1983) 160–163.

163 G. Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938) 117 f. and *RHA fasc.* 35 (1939) 75 (= ARM XXVI 533). The texts bring Karkamish into an economic relationship with the town Harshamna in south-eastern Anatolia, cf. E. Weidner, *BO* 9 (1952) 158 f.

164 ARM VII 86 (one talent of tin to Aplahanda), 238, 257; G. Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938) 117, 120, ARM XXIII 524, 556. See also G. Dossin, in: A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 187 f. (and *MARI* 2, 220).

165 G. Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938) 117 f.; Ch.-F. Jean, *ibid.* 122. Cf. also ARM XIII 46.

166 M. Birot, *Syria* 41 (1964) 55–57; H. Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 52 n. 25. The sender, Yasimsumu, appears in a letter which mentions Karkamish in connection with messengers who were possibly detained (ARM VI 23).

167 A. Finet, *RA* 60 (1966) 24–28: Yaph-Adad and Supri'erah went to Yarim-Lim and Aplahanda for help in an affair with the Haneans.

168 G. Dossin, *Syria* 19 (1938) 117 f.



Yatar'ami.

The succession of Yatar'ami to the throne of his father seems to have taken place without problems or delay.<sup>169</sup> His rule began during the year 9' / 10' of Zimri-Lim (ARM XXV 22, cf. XXV 46), the end is now referred to in the Mari letters, which indicate that he was replaced by his brother Yahdul-Lim about the year Zimri-Lim 12'. It seems that he was forced to leave the throne, probably after an intervention of Ishme-Dagan of Ekallatum.<sup>170</sup> This would mean that the rule of Yatar'ami was very short.

Direct synchronisms of Yatar'ami are established with Zimri-Lim of Mari, Hammurapi I of Yamhad and Bunuma-Adad of Nihriya,<sup>171</sup> also with Hammurapi of Babylon.

Among the documents of the Mari archives to be attributed to his reign with more or less certainty, there is a letter sent from Karkamish to Zimri-Lim<sup>172</sup> referring to words of loyalty and devotion uttered by the new king of Karkamish, Yatar'ami, to be conveyed to Zimri-Lim. Yatar'ami calls himself a "son" of Zimri-Lim, his "father". Another letter, addressed to the king of Mari by Yatar'ami himself<sup>173</sup>, concerns a river-ordeal to be performed under the supervision of the king of Mari, who is again designated as "father" of his "son" Yatar'ami. The accused men are said to have spoken, obviously with a conspirative intention, with a servant of king Bunuma-Adad of Nihriya (cf. GS I 24). As it seems, the interests of both rulers — of Karkamish and Mari — were touched upon by this affair, because the town Irrite is mentioned in this connection. In any case, Yatar'ami pronounces his subordinate position with regard to Zimri-Lim. Although this could be taken as an act of courtesy,<sup>174</sup> it seems obvious that the position of Yatar'ami was not very strong and that there was perhaps an internal opposition against his rule. As far as the relations with Mari are concerned, Karkamish was on good terms with this important city; the texts demonstrate this by the evidence for a gift-exchange and a frequent sending of messengers.<sup>175</sup>

After a short period of reign Yatar'ami was replaced by his brother Yahdul-Lim. The rule of this king of Karkamish began during the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari,<sup>176</sup> but the end is not recorded and could perhaps be placed after the conquest of Mari by Hammurapi of Babylon, which marks the beginning of a period when the history of Karkamish (and other Syrian centres) is poorly documented by texts. A short stone inscription, excavated in Karkamish and dating possibly into the period immediately

169 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 120, cf. GS I 24 ff.

170 B.Lafont, NABU 1988/3, with reference to ARM XXVI 531 (AEM I/2 p.524 f.).

171 Cf. G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 120 and RA 36 (1939) 48; ARM III 57, ARM IX 17; G.Dossin, in: *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden 1939, 112–118.

172 G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 120 = ARM XXVI 537 (AEM I/2 p.529 f.).

173 G.Dossin, *Symbolae* ... P.Koschaker (cf.above) 112–118.

174 Cf. G.Dossin, *Symbolae* ... P.Koschaker (cf.above) 116 (courtesy of a younger king); J.M.Munn-Rankin, Iraq 18 (1956) 82 (subordination).

175 Cf., e.g., ARM II 107, VII 159, IX 17, X 131, XXV 22; G.Dossin, RA 35 (1938) 48; also J.D.Hawkins, RIA V/5–6 (1980) 428.

176 Cf. B.Lafont, NABU 1988/3.

following the Mari texts,<sup>177</sup> is heavily damaged. The name of a king(?) of Karkamish, ending with -Lim, and the name of his father, ending with -ami, could point to Yahdul-Lim and his father Yatar'ami.

The older Alalakh archives (level VII) have furnished only two references to Karkamish so far: ALT \*268, a list of distribution of grain,<sup>178</sup> mentions among the recipients a messenger from Karkamish, while ALT \*349 refers to sheep (28800 head) as delivered by the governor of Karkamish. These texts only witness the exchange of messengers between Alalakh and Karkamish and some economic ties between both centres. As Abba'el of Yamhad was in control of Irrite and other towns in upper Mesopotamia, it is possible that also Karkamish was dominated by Yamhad. A "man" from Karkamish is mentioned in the literary text on the siege of Urshu, dating to the time when the Hittites penetrated into Syria. A messenger of this ruler was in the city of Urshu during the time of the Hittite siege.<sup>179</sup>

### (c) *Urshum.*

The northeast Syrian centre, not to be located with certainty so far,<sup>180</sup> is attested in the cuneiform tradition since the archives of Ebla and the IIIrd dynasty of Ur. The Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe/Kanish, level II of the *kanum*, provide evidence showing that Urshum was an important station on the route between Ashur and Kanish, having an Assyrian trading centre (*karum*) with a temple of the god Ashur and mediating in the commercial contacts between other Syrian centres and Anatolia.<sup>181</sup> A letter from Tell Harmal in Babylonia could point to a temporary political influence of Eshnunna in the territory of Urshum, if we are allowed to identify the Urshitum mentioned there with Urshum in northern Syria. The text could date from the time of Naram-Sin or other rulers of Eshnunna during the 19th century B.C.<sup>182</sup> The information from the archives of Mari starts with the reign of Yahdun-Lim (cf. GS I 258 ff.). Abisamar, ruling a territory not too far from Karkamish, reports to Yahdun-Lim that Shamshi-Adad of Assyria had begun hostile actions and refers to an earlier enmity of Urshum and of other principalities which did not result in any loss of villages by Abisamar (ARM I 1). Abisamar addresses Yahdun-Lim as a friend, and in a letter (ARM I 2) which could be connected with the text mentioned before, Abisamar stresses his subordination to Yahdun-Lim: "My house is your house and Abisamar is your son". As it seems, Yahdun-Lim was able to extend his influence far

177 C.L.Woolley – R.D.Barnett, *Carchemish III*, London 1952, A 33 k; H.G.Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954) 110; GS I 31.

178 D.J.Wiseman, *JCS* 8 (1954) 21, and *JCS* 13 (1959) 27 f.

179 KBo I 11 (CTH 7) obv. 21' and 27'.

180 For proposals cf. D.O.Edzard – G.Farber, *RGTC* 2 (1974) 225 and B.Groneberg, *RGTC* 3 (1980) 250.

181 M.T.Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies*, Copenhagen 1976, 261 f.; H.Klengel, in: K.Emre et al. (eds.), *Anatolia and the ancient Near East* (Fs T.Özgtüç), Ankara 1989, 263–268.

182 J.van Dijk, *AfO* 23 (1970) 65–71, cf. D.Charpin, in: J.-M.Durand – J.-R.Kupper, *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 62 and 66.

to the north along the valley of the Euphrates; a seal inscription discovered at Acemhöyük connects Yahdun-Lim with the land of Urshum<sup>183</sup>, a fact which indicates the influence exercised by the king of Mari at this time. Later on, Urshum is mentioned in a coalition brought together by Shamshi-Adad I against the king Sumu'epuh of Yamhad (ARM I 24). Shamshi-Adad intended to place about 2000 soldiers at the disposal of the "man" of Urshum; perhaps the king of Urshum was in command of a part of the army which should attack Sumu'epuh from the north or northeast. There is no evidence available to date that Urshum and Yamhad battled thereafter. Some texts point to good relations of Urshum with Yasmah-Adad resp. Shamshi-Adad: Oil was delivered to the ruler of Urshum as a royal gift.<sup>184</sup> From the period of the rule of Yasmah-Adad in Mari, possibly the end of his reign, comes a letter mentioning fire signals lit by enemies in the Euphrates valley; the signals found their response in the villages "of the land of Urshum on the other bank of the Euphrates" (ARM II 131). This means, that the territory of Urshum bordered on the Euphrates valley and the population was ready to join the enemies of Yasmah-Adad.

The Mari texts hand down to us only the name of one king of Urshum, Shennam, which indicates a strong Hurrian influence on northeastern Syria at the same time. An important synchronism is furnished by ARM XXV 48+, dated Zimri-Lim year 8' and 9', by mentioning a delivery by Shennam of Urshum and Yantinammu of Gubla; the same text refers to Yarim-Lim (I, of Yamhad), his wife Gashera and his son Hammurapi.<sup>185</sup> Shennam maintained good relations with Mari, as is shown also by ARM XXIII 524, dated to the year Zimri-Lim 8' (i.e. the last full year of reign of Yarim-Lim of Yamhad): The king of Urshum received 20 minas of tin from Mari. In the same text Aplahanda, king of Karkamish, Yarim-Lim (of Yamhad), and Gashera are mentioned as recipients, and another Aplahanda is designated as "prime minister / vezier" (sukkal) of Shennam.<sup>186</sup> In ARM XXV 532 the name of the king of Urshum is broken off, but was surely Shennam. He sent gold (or silver) to Mari at the time of Yarim-Lim of Yamhad, who is obviously referred to by the very common name at the end of the text. The reign of Shennam lasted into the time of Yarim-Lim's successor, Hammurapi (I), cf. ARM XXV 48+ and XXV 23 (year Zimri-Lim 10').

The ties between Urshum and Mari are illuminated by some further texts from the Mari archives. According to ARM XIV 31, people from Urshum arrived at Saggaratum, one of the district capitals of the kingdom of Mari, and the presence of representatives of Urshum in Mari itself is indicated by ARM VII 209 and XXV 632. One of the main deliveries from – or better: via – Mari to Urshum and other Syrian centres was tin (cf. ARM XXV 16), which was obtained by merchants of Mari in the

183 Cf. B.Groneberg, RGTC 3 (1980) 250 following a communication of T.Özgül.

184 D.Charpin, MARI 3 (1984) 96 no.86 (delivery also to the king of Hashum).

185 ARM XXV 48 + 39 + XXI 252, cf. P.Villard, UF 18 (1986) 388.

186 Cf. G. Dossin, in: A.Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 187 f. (A.3412).

land of Elam.<sup>187</sup> On the other hand, wine was transported from Urshum to Mari as a typical product of the region of Urshum and neighbouring areas (cf. ARM XXIII 494). An Old Babylonian letter (AbB 2, 143)<sup>188</sup> points to olive oil as another important product of the Urshum region. Contrary to wine and oil, sheep did not count as traded goods, but were sometimes sent from Urshum to Mari (ARM XXIII 339). Thus it becomes evident that Urshum had a prominent position in the commercial traffic between Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia also during the period of the Mari archives. Nevertheless, Urshum remained outside the geographical horizon of the earlier texts (level VII) of Alalakh; the fact that Alalakh was not the centre of a state of its own but of a household economy should be considered as responsible for this absence of Urshum in the texts. There is only one economic text of unknown origin, but with affinities with the tablets of Alalakh VII, which refers to Urshum in connection with a distribution of grain.<sup>189</sup>

The importance of Urshum during the 17th century B.C. is reflected by documents coming from the archives of the Hittite capital, Hattusha. Although written down in a literary style and preserved in later copies, some of them point to the role played by Urshum during this period. A literary composition on a historical subject, written in Akkadian, is devoted to the siege of Urshum by the Hittite army during the reign of Hattushili I.<sup>190</sup> The siege was commanded by the Hittite general Shanda; he was not able to prevent the inhabitants of the besieged city from communicating with Syrian allies, such as Halab, (Z)aruar, and Karkamish. The Hurrians in general appear as confederates of Urshum, and the "servant of the son of the weather-god" (rev.30) could be identified with the ruler of Urshum who was subordinate to the king of the Hurrian state in upper Mesopotamia, Mittani.<sup>191</sup> The close connection of Urshum with both Halab and Hurri agrees with the economic and political contacts as documented for Urshum from the late 3rd millennium. Urshum was considered as a centre which should be dominated when military campaigns into northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia were planned. Therefore it also appears in the bilingual text of Hattushili I, telling of his deeds in Syria and upper Mesopotamia during his early years of reign (KBo X 1-2, CTH 4). A more detailed record is given in the Akkadian version of this text: The area of Urshum was touched upon by the army of Hattushili on the road to Ta/ishhiniya (upper Euphrates region) from Alalha/Alalakh. On the way back the land of Urshum was "destroyed" (col.I 9 f.). The Hittite version mentions only the "destruction" of Ikakali and Tashhiniya

187 H.Limet, SEL 2 (1985) 43-52. For contacts between Mari resp. Syria and Elam cf. the archaeological evidence as summarized by P.Amiet, in: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 9-15, and H.Limet, *ibid.* 201-210.

188 Cf. W.F.Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, Leiden 1960, 92 f. - The Old Babylonian texts VS VII 50 and YOS XIII mention a female slave from Urshum, Ina-Eulmash-banat.

189 D.J.Wiseman, JCS 7 (1953) 108 f.

190 KBo I 11 (CTH 7), cf. H.G.Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938) 114-139.

191 H.G.Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938) 135; G.G.Giorgadze, VDI 3/1967, 118; GS III 173; G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 29.

together with Warshuwa / Urshu (KBo X 2 I 16 ff.). Thus it is not quite clear whether Urshu(m) itself was conquered and plundered or only the surrounding region, the "land of Urshu".<sup>192</sup> The success of Murshili I against Yamhad and Hurrian settlements (KBo III 57, CTH 11) certainly secured Hittite overlordship also in northeastern Syria (cf. below).

*(d) Ugarit.*

The textual sources for the history of Ugarit before the period documented by the archives of Ugarit itself (GS II 329–339) has increased considerably during the last decade. After first evidence from the Ebla archives (cf. above) Ugarit is referred to in a later text concerning deified kings of the city, whose rule seems to have continued also during the period in question (i.e. c.1800–1600 B.C.).<sup>193</sup> The Mari texts refer to Ugarit as a centre of trade between the Euphrates region and Crete, but also as the place visited by the king of Mari, Zimri-Lim. They are silent as far as the names of the kings of Ugarit are concerned, and there is no witness for a king of Ugarit at all. Thus no possibility is given to link the Mari sources with the sequence of rulers as noted down in the later tradition of Ugarit. An inscribed seal with the name of a certain Yaqarum, son of Niqmadu, king of Ugarit,<sup>194</sup> used as a kind of "dynastic seal" on tablets of the archives of Ugarit during the 14th/13th centuries, is at least a proof for the historicity of Yaqarum and perhaps other rulers who were deified and venerated as ancestors of the dynasty later on.

The voyage of king Yarim-Lim I and also Zimri-Lim of Mari to Ugarit<sup>195</sup> was obviously undertaken with regard to the importance of this harbour city for the commercial activities of both Yamhad and Mari. As becomes evident, Ugarit was the place where merchants from Mari and other centres made their trade with those from Crete and Cyprus, assisted sometimes by interpreters. ARM XXIII 556,<sup>196</sup> a tin inventory, mentions this metal deposited in Halab, sent by Hammurapi of Babylon, while other quantities of tin were deposited by two merchants of Mari in Ugarit. Further deliveries of tin are mentioned for Yarim-Lim of Yamhad and his family (cf. ARM XXV 48+), his "vezier" Tab-balati (cf. also ARM XXIII 448, 449), and other persons, all residing in Halab. Tin was given also to persons staying in Ugarit: Sumu'erah of Muzunnum, Ewritalma of Layash, Ibni-Adad of Hazor (three times)<sup>197</sup>, and a man from Kaphtor/Crete, an interpreter. This text, dated into the year 9<sup>th</sup> of Zimri-Lim, i.e. the last period of reign of Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad, shows Ugarit as a centre where economic relations were established with cities such as

192 Cf. already GS I 262 f. and GS III 167 ff.

193 K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131–142; for the personal names cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, UF 18 (1986) 83–95.

194 J.Nougayrol, PRU III p.XLI ff.; CLF.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (1956) 66 ff. and AfO 23 (1970) 134 f. (cf. GS II 332 f.).

195 P.Villard, ARM XXIII pp.457–475 and UF 18 (1986) 387–412.

196 A.1270, cf. already G.Dossin, RA 64 (1970) 97–103, and A.Malamat, IEJ 21 (1971) 31–38.

197 Cf. also ARM XXV 43, where Ibni-Adad of Hazor is mentioned together with Amutpi'el of Qatna.

Qatna, Hazor and Mari and with the palace economies of Crete. ARM XXV 46 documents contacts between Aplahanda of Karkamish and Ugarit, and Zimri-Lim of Mari had a representative there, whose name was Darish-libur.<sup>198</sup>

The role played by Ugarit as a centre of inter-regional trade and its special place as a mediator of tin to the Aegean and of copper from Cyprus to Syria and Mesopotamia<sup>199</sup> contributed to the emergence of economic contacts between the Levant and the Aegean and/or Cyprus and was at the same time connected with the change of the main orientation of Mesopotamian trade to the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>200</sup> The relations between Ugarit and Egypt are not documented by similar textual material so far, but Egyptian objects with inscribed names of pharaohs of the 12th dynasty<sup>201</sup> indicate commercial relations with the Nile valley, and the pharaohs were obviously eager to reinforce their economic ties with the Levant.

The texts focusing on the activities of king Zimri-Lim in the north and in Ugarit reflect the vital interest taken by Mari in the contact with this harbour city. It seems that Ugarit belonged to the territory controlled by Yarim-Lim I of Yamhad, and the presence of his wife Gashera in Ugarit is shown by several Mari texts.<sup>202</sup> It may be supposed that Ugarit had been governed by a local prince for some centuries; a letter addressed to Zimri-Lim by Hammurapi I of Yamhad<sup>203</sup> refers to a "man" of Ugarit who wanted to see the famous palace of Zimri-Lim in Mari. It is probable that the visit paid by Zimri-Lim to Ugarit had established a personal contact, and the meeting gave rise to the demand for a return visit in Mari. Hammurapi of Yamhad was therefore asked to mediate, certainly because of his good relations with Mari and possibly as the overlord of Ugarit.

The Alalakh tablets of level VII have furnished only one reference for Ugarit so far (AIT \*358).<sup>204</sup> Puruqu, a "man" of Ugarit (i.e. not necessarily a ruler), made a delivery of wool to the palace of Alalakh, as was also done at the same time by a "man" from Arazik on the Euphrates. The small document demonstrates not more than the existence of commercial contacts between Ugarit and Alalakh. The Hittites, when penetrating into northern Syria at the time of Hattushili I (i.e. about 1650), supposedly did not attack Ugarit. The name of the city appears again in textual evidence at about 1500 B.C., this time in the Alalakh tablets of level IV.

198 Cf. ARM XXV 46, 60, 359 etc., also P.Villard, UF 18 (1986) 388.

199 Cf. H.Klengel, SMEA 24 (1984) 17 f. Copper from Alashiya/Cyprus is mentioned also in ARM XXV 718, 719, 691, cf. H.Limet, in: J.-M.Durand - J.-R.Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 201-210.

200 Cf. H.Klengel, EAZ 19 (1978) 211-225.

201 At Ugarit itself there were discovered two sphinxes of Amenemhet III, a statue of the wife of Sesostri II, statues of a vezier, of priests and ladies; a pearl is attributed to Sesostri I. Cf. W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 68 and GS II 329 f.

202 Cf. ARM XXV 118, 340. ARM XXV 154 refers to deliveries for a female singer of Yarim-Lim in Ugarit.

203 G.Dossin apud A.Parrot, *Syria* 18 (1937) 74 n.1; G.Dossin, *RA* 36 (1939) 49 (cf. GS II 331).

204 D.J.Wiseman, *JCS* 8 (1954) 27; cf. H.Klengel, *OLZ* 57 (1962) 454; K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131-142.

*(e) Gubla.*

The Egyptian execration texts of the Middle Kingdom mention "Asiatics" of Gubla and a "tribe" of Gubla, perhaps people dwelling in the hinterland of the city; there is no name of a ruler recorded.<sup>205</sup> But, according to hieroglyphic inscriptions from the site itself, the city was governed by a dynasty with Amorite personal names. Only one of these rulers is – if the identity could be taken for certain – witnessed by cuneiform texts: A Mari text (ARM XXV 48+)<sup>206</sup> mentions the sending of a golden vase to Mari by a certain Yantinammu of Gubla during year 9' of Zimri-Lim, and furnishes a further synchronism of Yantinammu with Shennam of Urshum, Yarim-Lim and Hammurapi of Yamhad. On the other hand, if Yantinammu is identical with a Yantin in the inscription of a fragmentary relief mentioning Neferhotep I of Egypt, this would establish also a synchronism with an Egyptian king of the 13th dynasty.<sup>207</sup> Other rulers of Gubla should be placed into the period following the time of the Mari archives and lasting until about 1600 B.C., but many questions are left open as to chronology and sequence.<sup>208</sup>

Texts from Mari demonstrate contacts between Gubla and Mari, the latter being not only the destination of messages and goods but also of travellers to other centres in Mesopotamia. The presence of envoys from Gubla and the trade in textiles are attested by several documents.<sup>209</sup> The route used when travelling from Gubla to Mari is not referred to explicitly, but Qatna was certainly a major station on it; here messengers and merchants from various centres in Syria and Palestine could meet in order to cross the desert together. The archaeological material from Gubla, especially the fact that the rulers used Egyptian titles and designated themselves as "servants" of the king of Egypt, point to a strong influence of Egypt both economically and politically. Gubla was the most prominent harbour place for the trade between Asia and the Nile valley during this period.

The close contacts of the 13th Egyptian dynasty with Asia are reflected not only by the royal scarabs discovered in Palestine and by material found in Syria.<sup>210</sup> Of special interest are also the results of the excavations at Tell el-Dab'a in the northeastern delta of the Nile, where evidence for the connections of this site with Palestine and Syria during the 18th century B.C. was unearthed. Gubla could have played a role as mediator, but there should have been also direct ties connecting the ruling group of Auais / Tell el-Dab'a, the "Hyksos", with Syria. The archaeological investigations

205 Gubla is also mentioned in Egyptian religious texts on sarcophagi of the 12th dynasty, see P.Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Paris 1928, 266 ff., and S.H.Horn, *Andrews Seminary Studies* 1 (1963) 54 f.

206 Cf. also H.Limet, *MARI* 3 (1984) 193 and 195 (A.1264).

207 In case this synchronism is proved correct, it brings new problems for absolute chronology, cf. K.A.Kitchen, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 148.

208 The names are: Ilimayapi(?), Abishemu (II), Yapashemuabi, Egel/Egliya, perhaps Rynty (cf. G.T.Martin, *Berytus* 18 [1969] 81–83), Ka'in, Hasrurum, the last mentioned being a "hinterland chief" according to K.A.Kitchen, *Or* 36 (1967) 42.

209 G.Dossin, *Syria* 20 (1939) 111; ARM XXII 324 IV 29, XXIII 45, 372, 576; cf. W.F.Albright, *BASOR* 99 (1945) 11 and GS II 439 n.22.

210 Cf. R.Giveon, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 30 (1978) 163–167.

brought about evidence for the import of wine and olive oil from Syria, painted pottery from the region of Qatna, a cylinder seal cut in Egypt but showing the weather-god (= Seth), etc.<sup>211</sup> All this could indicate trade connections between the delta and Syria, but perhaps also some "traditional" ties possibly because of a north Syrian offspring of the Hyksos rulers. The discovery of objects from Egypt in Ebla, level TM IIIB, and especially of a ceremonial mace with the name of Hotepibra/Harnejheryotef (13th dynasty), who is designated as "son of an Asiatic" in an Egyptian text, could lead to the assumption that he was perhaps of Asiatic offspring and that his family originally belonged to a noble family in north Syria.<sup>212</sup>

### 3. The invasion of northern Syria by the Hittites

The last phase of the period in question (c.1800–1600) is recorded by texts from the archives of Hattusha (Boghazköy). A number of Hittite and Akkadian sources come from or pertain to the Old Kingdom of Hatti, and some of them illuminate the crossing of the Taurus and the military activities of the Hittites in northern Syria during the reigns of Hattushili I and Murshili I (i.e. after 1650 B.C. according to the "middle" chronology).<sup>213</sup> The reasons for the Hittite invasion are indicated by the sources themselves: The situation in Anatolia, i.e. the emergence of a state (Hatti) and a monarchical rule, needed to be stabilised by military success abroad. Prestige and booty could help to strengthen the position of the dynasty with regard to the people in Anatolia and the foreign powers.<sup>214</sup> There were also the natural and productive resources of the highly developed north Syrian plains and the wealth of the political and economic centres in this region. Precious metals, products of specialized handicraft, objects of prestige and luxury goods were attractive for the northern neighbours of Syria.<sup>215</sup> Important trade routes crossed Syria, linking Mesopotamia and Iran with the Levant and, mediated by Syrian sea-ports such as Ugarit and Gubla, Egypt or the Aegean; they gave special power to those who were in control of them.

The most instructive textual source is the bilingual report of Hattushili I.<sup>216</sup> It concerns the military deeds of this king during five years of his reign, i.e. the

211 M.Bietak, AfO 32 (1985) 130–135.

212 P.Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989, 184, who proposes to connect the family of Hotepibre with the ruling house of Ebla.

213 The first crossing of the Taurus, an event of considerable importance in Hittite tradition, has found its literary reflection, see H.Otten, ZA 55 (1962) 156–168, and Saeculum 15 (1964) 115–124, cf. G.G.Giorgadze, VDI 1/1964, 3–22.

214 H.Klengel, in: Istituto Gramsci Toscano. Stato, Economia, Lavoro nel Vicino Oriente antico, Milano 1988, 183–194.

215 G.G.Giorgadze, VDI 1/1964, 4 f., cf. GS III 165 f.

216 KBo X 1–2 and dupl.(CTH 4). Akkadian version: Cl.Saporetti, Studi Classici e Orientali 14 (1965) 77–85; Hittite: F.Imparati, ib. 13 (1964) 1–36; cf. also H.Craig Melchert, JNES 37 (1978) 1–22. A definite edition is still lacking.



annalistic text does not cover the whole rule of Hattushili I. After having campaigned in Anatolia, Hattushili went "in the following year" (= year 2?) to Syria. His first aim was Al(h)alḫa/Alalakh, which was destroyed.<sup>217</sup> Then the Hittite army marched to Urshu/Warshuwa, from there to Igakalish/Ikakali and Tishhiniya/Tashhiniya in the region of the upper Euphrates. On the return to Anatolia the land(!) of Urshu was devastated. The rich booty taken in these towns and their rural environs was brought into the palace of the Hittite king. Halab, the most powerful political centre in northern Syria, is not mentioned in this connection, although regions which belonged to the sphere of Yamhad were undoubtedly touched upon by this campaign of Hattushili I. It is still uncertain whether the literary composition narrating the siege of Urshu and pointing to a support given by Halab to the besieged city, is to be connected with this campaign or not.<sup>218</sup> The identification of Alalḫa as Alalakh is now generally accepted, though not made for certain. If so, Hattushili had entered Syria from the northwest, i.e. the Amanus region. After this first raid Hattushili had to fight again in Anatolia itself; his next military controversy with Syrian states came about three years later. He destroyed Zarunti/Zaruna<sup>219</sup> and marched to Hashuwa (Marash?), where he met with troops also from Halab. A battle took place in the region of Mount Adalur.<sup>220</sup> Hattushili was, as it seems, victorious; he conquered Hashuwa and took a statue of the weather-god of Halab as booty. It is possible that this battle with troops from Hashu(wa) and Halab is reflected in some other fragments of texts pertaining to Syria, especially to Halab.<sup>221</sup> The Yarim-Lim mentioned there should be Yarim-Lim III of Yamhad; the son of this Yarim-Lim, Hammurapi, could be considered as Hammurapi II of Yamhad, who was crown prince at the time of the battle. Furthermore, the military commanders Zukrashi (cf. ALT \*6) and Zaludi, and the "men" of Hashu, Ebla and Emar appear in these fragmentary texts. Halab itself was, as it seems, not attacked by the Hittites, but Hattushili removed a statue of the weather-god of Halab from the city of Hashu (cf.

217 It was discussed (cf. GS III 167) whether this conquest brought to an end the settlement of Alalakh VII or not, cf., most recently, M.-H. Gates, in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, II 60–86.

218 KBo I 11 (CTH 7). According to obv. 21' (cf. H.G. Güterbock, ZA 44 [1938] 116 f. and 121), Hattushili himself was in Luhuzantiya (i.e. in the land of Kizuwatna), when the siege of Urshu was started. KBo III 60 (CTH 17), a fragment of a legendary narration, also concerns messengers of Halab and could be connected with the story on the siege of Urshu (cf. already GS I 149 f.).

219 G.F. del Monte – J. Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 496, cf. GS III 168 (north or northwest of Gaziantep). M. Forlanini – M. Marazzi, *Anatolia: L'impero hittita* (Atlante storico del Vicino Oriente antico, 4.3), Roma 1986, locate Zarunti in Cilicia, near Kadirli.

220 Akkadian version only. For the Ad/talur cf. G.F. del Monte – J. Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 53 f. and GS III 32, also M. Forlanini – M. Marazzi (cf. note 215): Bahçe pass of the Amanus.

221 KUB XXXI 5 and dupl. KBo XIX 91; KBo XXII 3 + KUB XXXVI 103 with dupl. KBo III 56; KUB XXIII 28 + XL 5 + KBo XXII 4 with dupl. KBo XII 13 (+) KUB XL 4; KBo VII 14 + KUB XXXVI 100 with dupl. KUB XXXVI 101 and 102, cf. CTH 14 – 15, GS I 146 and III 168 f.; C. Kühne, ZA 62 (1972) 242–249.

above). It was possibly this event which was referred to in the historical introduction of the Talmi-Sharruma treaty later on.<sup>222</sup> It is said in this treaty that Hattushili I "fulfilled" the great kingdom of Halab, what obviously should indicate a kind of cultic preparation of the conquest of the city itself by Murshili I, thus attributing to Hattushili I at least part of the merit. The integration of this widely venerated local variant of the weather-god into the cultic life of official Hatti could serve as an argument for the political interference of the Hittites in Syria. After having crossed the Euphrates Hattushili subdued the city of Hahhum; in this connection the Hittite king points to the fact that the Euphrates was also crossed by the famous conqueror Sargon of Akkad, whose deeds were incorporated into the Hittite historical tradition already in the early years of Hittite monarchy.<sup>223</sup> The events of the period of Hattushili I (or also of Murshili I) could be connected with the archaeological evidence from Ebla, i.e. the destruction of the settlement of Ebla IIIB.<sup>224</sup>

There is no convincing evidence for a Hittite attempt to organize political power in north Syria in an administrative way. Murshili I refers to a "revenge" of the blood(?) of his adoptive father, Hattushili I,<sup>225</sup> but it remains uncertain whether this should be understood as a hint to a death of Hattushili caused by a wound received during his campaigns in Syria or not. At any rate, an edict of Hattushili concerning the succession of Murshili (KBo III 27, CTH 5) demonstrates that Halab itself was not yet conquered during the late years of Hattushili's reign. The subjection of the city was left as a major task to Murshili I. Indeed, Murshili succeeded in fulfilling this political heritage; Halab was eliminated as the leading power in northern Syria. It seems possible that Halab, being well aware of the Hittite plans, tried to revive the traditional ties with Babylon.<sup>226</sup> The surrender of Halab to Hatti is handed down to us only as short textual notes.<sup>227</sup> Murshili was able to set off on a campaign leading the Hittite army down the Euphrates as far as Babylon. Perhaps the settlement of Alalakh level VII found its end during the time.<sup>228</sup> Although the chronology and even the historicity of the events mentioned in the texts pertaining to the Hittite

222 KBo I 6 (CTH 75) obv.12, cf. H.Klengel, ZA 22 (1964) 213–217. For the importance of the weather-god of Halab see H.Klengel, JCS 19 (1965) 87–93, for the veneration of this god in Hatti cf. V.Šouček – J.Šiegelová, ArOr 42 (1974) 39–52.

223 A.Goetze, JCS 16 (1962) 26; H.G.Güterbock, JCS 18 (1964) 1–6.

224 P.Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Torino 1989, 55 f., prefers a linkage with the campaigns of Murshili I. A seal of a "son of Indilimgur", which was discovered in level IIIB of Ebla, and the possible equation of this Indilimgur with a person appearing in a date formula lead to the proposal to see in this Indilimgur the last ruler of Ebla before the destruction of the city by the Hittite army; cf. ibid. 206 and D.R.Frayne, Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595), Toronto 1990, 808.

225 KBo III 57 (CTH 11), cf. GS I 149 and III 70.

226 VS XVI 24 = AbB VI 24, cf. most recently, H.Klengel, in: Ö.Tunca (ed.), De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari (Fs J.-R.Kupper), Liège 1990, 183–195.

227 KBo I 6 (CTH 75); KBo III 57 (CTH 11); KBo III 1+ (CTH 19); KUB XXIV 3+ (CTH 376) and dupl. (cf. GS I 148 ff.).

228 G.G.Giorgadze, VDI 1/1964, 20 and GS I 214. Cf. also the submission of Alalakh by Hattushili I.

military activities in Syria during the reigns of Hattushili I and Murshili I are still under discussion,<sup>229</sup> the temporary dominance of the Hittites in northern Syria is beyond doubt. The successor of Murshili I, Hantili, was active in the region of the bend of the Euphrates near Karkamish, as is indicated by the edict of Telipinu some decades later,<sup>230</sup> at a time when Hittite domination in Syria was already questioned and then replaced by Hurri-Mittani.

229 Cf. also KUB XXXI 64+ (CTH 12), a text which could pertain to fights of Murshili I in northern Syria.

230 KBo III 1+ (CTH 19), cf. I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* (THeth. 11), Heidelberg 1984, 20 f.

### III. THE LATE BRONZE AGE

#### 1. The period of Mittanian and Egyptian domination (c. 1600–1350)

##### a) Sources.

Syrian history between c. 1600 and 1350 B.C. is rather poorly documented, as far as texts from Syrian sites are concerned. The most important information comes from the later archive of Alalakh, discovered in level IV of the city and to be dated to the first half of the 15th century.<sup>1</sup> The “autobiography” of king Idrimi of Alalakh, carved on his statue which was found outside an archival context in an annex of a temple of a later level (I B), is connected with the tablets by several references to Idrimi as active person and father of Niqmepa.

- D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953 (texts without an asterisk, but also nos. 2, 3, 13 and 14). For the census lists (ALT 128 ff.) cf. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, WO V/1 (1969) 57–93, for the inscription of the statue see, most recently, M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 13 (1981) 201–269 (new edition in preparation), cf. also the translation by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz in O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/5 (1985) 501–504, and the discussion of the historical value of the inscription by G.H. Oller, in: H. Behrens – D. Loding – M. T. Roth (eds.), *dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a* (Fs. Å. W. Sjöberg), Philadelphia 1989, 411–417.

The excavations at Tell Hadidi, the site of ancient Azu on the west bank of the middle Euphrates, recovered more than a dozen cuneiform tablets dating from the first part of the Late Bronze Age, especially the period of Mittanian domination. They concern administrative and juridical problems; a letter mentions villages of the city of Azu (cf. ALT 235:2).

- R.H. Dornemann, *Archaeology* 31/6 (1978) 20–26, and id., in: J.-Cl. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Leiden 1980, 217–234.<sup>2</sup>

Some cuneiform texts unearthed in the area of the Ninegal temple at Qatna (el-Mishrife) date back to the 15th century and mention rulers with West Semitic names.

- 1 For a discussion of the chronological problems connected with the various levels of Alalakh / Tell Atchana cf. M.-H. Gates, *Alalakh – Tell Atchana, Levels VI and V: A Re-Examination* (Diss. Yale 1976); she proposed approximate dates for levels VI (c. 1575–1525) and V (c. until 1460), but cf., more recently, M.-H. Gates, in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 60–86.
- 2 Further texts from about the middle of the 2nd millennium were discovered during the excavations at Tell Munbaqa (east bank of the Euphrates, ancient Ekalte), cf. W. Mayer, MDOG 118 (1986) 126–131, 120 (1988) 48–50, and 122 (1990) 45–66; also W. Orthmann, MDOG 108 (1976) 41 f. and W. von Soden, MDOG 114 (1982) 71–77.

- Ch.Virolleaud, *Syria* 11 (1930) 311–342; J.Bottéro, *RA* 43 (1949) 1–40, 137–215 (cf. GS II 107 f.).

Furthermore, the list of deified kings of Ugarit (cf. above) and the inscriptions of rulers of Gubla written in Egyptian hieroglyphs (cf. above) continue into the period in question, although some chronological problems are still unsolved.

After the Hittite invasion during the reigns of Hattushili I and Murshili I (cf. above) Syria became a zone of interest and military activities for powerful neighbours. As far as Hatti is concerned, texts from *Hattusha* (Boghazköy) pertaining to Syria are now scarce or retrospective only. Murshili I seems to have fought in Syria again during his later years of reign, i.e. after the conquest of Halab. His successor, Hantili, is also said to have campaigned in northern Syria. Of importance, though still under discussion, is the historical introduction to the treaty concluded between Muwattalli II (resp. Murshili II) and Talmi-Sharruma of Halab, where events which should have happened during the period in question are mentioned.

- CTH 75 (Talmi-Sharruma treaty): KBo I 6 and dupl.; cf. also N.Na'aman, *JCS* 32 (1980) 34–42. For Murshili I cf. KUB XXXI 64 (CTH 12), for Hantili the edict of Telipinu, KBo III 1+68 and dupl. (CTH 19), cf. now I.Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* (THeth.11), Heidelberg 1984.

The state archives of Mittani, i.e. the power which extended its influence over most parts of Syria, have not yet been discovered and pertinent information is therefore still lacking. The tablets from Tell Brak (Habur area), unearthed in a Mittanian palace,<sup>3</sup> have not yielded any information concerning Syria proper.

The campaigns of the pharaohs of Egypt (early 18th dynasty) to Palestine and Syria are recorded in royal and private inscriptions and reflected by topographical lists.

- *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, IV.Abt.: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Leipzig 1906–1909, Berlin 1955–1958 (= *Urk.IV*). Translations: Fasc.1–4 (*Urk.IV* 1–313) by K.Sethe, Berlin 1984 (reprint of the edition of 1914); fasc.5–16 (*Urk.IV* 315–1225) by A.Burkhardt, E.Blumenthal, I.Müller, W.F.Reineke, Berlin 1984; fasc.17–22 (*Urk.IV* 1227–2179) by W.Helck, Berlin 1984 (reprint of the edition of 1961). Cf. also J.H.Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (= *AR*), vol.II, Chicago 1906, and D.B.Redford, *JAOS* 99 (1979) 270–287 (Amenophis I).

## b) *Outline history.*

When the armies of Hattushili I and Murshili I campaigned in northern Syria, they were confronted by a number of Hurrian settlements or principalities; the military conflict is reflected in a series of texts from Boghazköy.<sup>4</sup> The existence of small political entities dominated by the Hurrian population group is also indicated by a

3 LL.Finkel, *Iraq* 47 (1985) 187–201.

4 Cf. GS III 171–175 (summary); N.Na'aman, *UF* 6 (1974) 265–274; H.Klengel, *RHA* 36 (1978) 91–115; A.Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650–1570 v.Chr.)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 14 ff.

Hittite literary tradition, which hands down the names of four Hurrian "kings" in connection with Hittite military activities in Syria.<sup>5</sup> The context refers to messengers of the king of Halab who were seized and afterwards dismissed to their city. In general, it could be assumed that about this time, i.e. the 2nd half of the 17th century, northern Syria had not only a strong Hurrian population component,<sup>6</sup> but also Hurrian rulers especially in the eastern parts of the country. They supported the Syrian defence against the Hittites, while at the same time there was a struggle for supremacy among the principalities. The literary tradition of Hatti, such as the tale about the siege of Urshu (CTH 7), obviously reflects a political development in upper Mesopotamia and eastern Syria, mentioned as fighting between the "sons of the son of the weather-god".<sup>7</sup> After the conquest of Halab by Murshili I and the withdrawal of Hittite power from Syria in the early 16th century (during or after the reign of the Hittite king Hantili ?) there probably existed in northern Syria a kind of "vacuum" as far as political power was concerned. This could have favoured the expansion of a new political power which had been established in upper Mesopotamia, Hurri-Mittani.<sup>8</sup> There are no textual sources so far which could inform about the methods and the steps by which Mittani succeeded in gaining control on northern Syria. As long as written evidence from the core area of Mittani is not at hand, the cuneiform tablets from Alalakh (level IV) deserve special attention; they are supplemented by the Idrimi inscription on the statue.<sup>9</sup> Some texts of Idrimi and (his son) Niqmepa bear the seal of a certain Abba'el, son of Sharra'el, who is given the title of a "mighty king".<sup>10</sup> It could mean that this Abba'el was considered as the founder (or re-founder) of the dynasty to which Idrimi and Niqmepa belonged; his seal was used as a kind of "dynastic" seal.<sup>11</sup> There is nothing else known about this Abba'el. As the father of Idrimi, Ilim-ilimma, was king of Halab, Abba'el could also have been a ruler of this city. It seems that Abba'el ruled during the period of the "vacuum", i.e. between Hittite and Mittanian overlordship. The last one was established during the reigns of Ilim-ilimma and Idrimi, as is known from the text of the statue.

5 KBo III 60 (CTH 17), cf. H.G.Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938) 108 f.

6 M.Astour, RHA 36 (1978) 1-22; cf. G.Wilhelm, Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter, Darmstadt 1982, 9 ff.

7 Cf. H.Klengel, RHA 36 (1978) 101 and 106 f. — C.Kühne, in: H.J.Nissen — J.Renger (eds.), Mesopotamian und seine Nachbarn, Berlin 1982, 237 note 33, thinks that the designation as "son of the weather-god" was used ironically.

8 For the preference given to the writing Mittani (instead of Mitanni) cf. G.Wilhelm, AcAn 24 (1976) 149-161.

9 The historical value of the Idrimi inscription is discussed anew by G.H.Oller, in: Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a. Studies in Honor of Åke W.Sjöberg, ed. by H.Behrens, D.Loding, M.T.Roth, Philadelphia 1989, 411-417.

10 Cf. G.Bunnens, AIPHOS 20 (1968-1972) 145-154, and GS III 209 f. note 79.

11 See the impressions of this seal on tablets of both Idrimi and Niqmepa, cf. D.Collon, The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh (AOAT 27), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, 12 and 171 f., also GS I 175.

Idrimi, son of Ilim-ilimma, gives in his statue-inscription, formulated as an "autobiography", a — surely tendentious and enriched with literary *topoi* — report on events which should have taken place during the first half of the 15th century B.C.<sup>12</sup> His father resided in Halab, but after a revolt his family was forced to flee to relatives who were living in Emar. Although there is no proof of it, the event could be connected with the expansion of Mittani during the time of Parattarna/Barattarna.<sup>13</sup> This could be corroborated by the fact that Idrimi, when becoming king of Alalakh after having sworn an oath to the king of Mittani, refers to a longer-lasting ("7 years") enmity of Barattarna, identical with the "seven years" of the exile. He also points to the good relations which had existed before between Mittani and the dynasty of Halab (lines 45 ff.). On the other hand, the flight of the royal family to Emar, i.e. in the direction of Mittani, could indicate that the extension of the Mittanian domination was not identical with an enlargement of the state-territory of Mittani, but was a subordination of other territories by oaths sworn by the local authorities. The Mittanian area was, as it seems, based more upon a personal submission which linked other territories with the overlord than upon an integration of these areas into the structure of the north Mesopotamian state. The fate of Idrimi's father, who perhaps died immediately before or during the "wrongdoing" which happened in Halab, could have been caused by a personal conflict with the king of Mittani, who is given the title "mighty king" (l.51 of the inscription) as it is evidenced for Abba'el by the "dynastic" seal.<sup>14</sup>

If we follow the statement of Idrimi (lines 20 ff.) that he met people from Halab, Mukish, Nihi and Ama'e, subjects of his father, during his exile at Ammiya (Cana'an), this would imply a rule of Ilim-ilimma not only over the territory of Halab, but also of Mukish at the mouth of the Orontes, Nihi/Niya at the Ghab valley (middle Orontes) and Ama'e/Ama'u west of Halab.<sup>15</sup> The extension to the east is not clear;

- 12 For the chronological problems cf. H.Klengel, *RIA* V/1-2 (1976) 32 f. and UF 13 (1981) 269-278; G.Wilhelm, *AcAn* 24 (1976) 149-161; G.Oller, *The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary* (Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1977), 148 ff.
- 13 Cf. H.Klengel, UF 13 (1981) 273; G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 35. — For another hypothesis (connection with the campaign of Tuthmosis I) see C.Kühne, in: H.J.Nissen — J.Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 211.
- 14 The fact that Ilim-ilimma is not called "mighty king" by Idrimi is possibly due to the overlordship of Barattarna during the time when the text of the inscription was composed.
- 15 For localizations cf. GS III 51 (Mukish, cf. also GS I 203 ff.), GS III 54 (Niya, also GS II 58 ff.), GS I 187 (Ama'u, cf. GS III 73). For a discussion of Niya see also J.Ch.Balty, *Le problème de Niya*, in: *Colloque Apamée de Syrie*, 1972, Bruxelles 1973, 53-63. It is still uncertain whether the capital of Niya was located at Qal'at el-Mudiq or not. The frontier between Mukish and Ugarit, as it was fixed in the treaty concluded between Shup-piluliuma of Hatti and Niqmadu (II) of Ugarit (RS 17.340, cf. PRU IV 48 ff.), touched upon Idlib, Jisr esh-Shoghr and Badrusiya and arrived at the sea-shore south of the Jebel el-Akra.

Emar might have been outside. The territory ruled by Idrimi after he had sworn the oath to Barattarna can be defined only approximately: The western border was the Mediterranean Sea at the mouth of the Orontes (Mukish). In the north, the kingdom of Alalakh was close to (or had a common border with) Kizzuwatna (cf. the treaty ALT 3). As far as the east is concerned, Halab is not mentioned as part of Idrimi's territory; if this former political centre was not an unimportant settlement at that time, then it should have been mentioned. Thus it seems that Halab was outside his kingdom and perhaps under direct control of Mittani.<sup>16</sup>

Idrimi became king only after his conciliation with Barattarna, i.e. after his submission to the Mittanian king (L58). There should have been a contact with the court of Hurri-Mittani before; Idrimi himself mentions his messenger sent to Barattarna in the "seventh year" of his exile (lines 45 ff.), obviously with a new offer of submission and with an appropriate gift. Later, he swore an oath to Barattarna and obviously made a treaty with him. It is possible that the text of this treaty, which is not handed down to us, is at least partially reflected by the "autobiography".<sup>17</sup> The oath is referred to also in a treaty which Idrimi concluded with a Pilliya (ALT 3); as the main concern of this treaty was the extradition of fugitives, the territory of this Pilliya should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Mukish. Thus an identification with Pilliya of Kizzuwatna seems adequate.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that Idrimi was able to make a treaty with another ruler, as was done by Nigmepa later on with reference to an oath sworn to the king of Mittani (ALT 2), could point to a position of Idrimi not only as a simple vassal. Idrimi's campaign into Hittite territory, mentioned in the statue inscription (lines 64 ff.) as one of the major events of his reign as king of Mukish,<sup>19</sup> was aimed at the plundering of some settlements and not, as it seems, a serious attack on the Hittite territory; certainly the raid was undertaken in agreement with the Mittanian overlord.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps it was foreseen in the treaty with Hurri-Mittani that Idrimi had to support the military activities of the overlord by flank attacks. It is possible that the list of silver ALT 395, which mentions the lands of Zalhe, Zala'e and Mukish(he), is to be connected with a regular payment of Idrimi to the king of Mittani. In his statue inscription, Idrimi is said to have received the same rank as other kings (L59 f.),<sup>21</sup> and the activities

16 GS I 229, cf. G.H.Oller, *The Autobiography of Idrimi* (cf. above) 179 ff. and H.Klengel, UF 13 (1981) 277.

17 E.L.Greenstein - D.Marcus, JNES 8 (1976) 83.

18 For the problem of the identity of this Pilliya cf. H.M.Kümmel, RIA V/7-8 (1980) 628 (identity with the Pilliya/Palliya of the Boghazköy texts is doubted), but also GS I 219 and G.M.Avetisjan, Drevnij Vostok 5 (1988) 5-15.

19 For a tentative localization and possible identity of these settlements with those known from other sources cf. H.Klengel, UF 13 (1981) 278; C.Kühne, in: H.J.Nissen - J.Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 212.

20 C.Kühne (cf. above) 212 points to the possibility that Idrimi's raid was undertaken not only in agreement with Barattarna but was also a support for Kizzuwatna (cf. the treaty with Pilliya) to become independent from Hatti.

21 Another interpretation of this passage: N.Na'aman, OA 19 (1980) 115 (I. boasts that his vassals delivered more corn than they were used to pay to the kings of Yamhad before).



described at the end of the text (lines 59 ff.) should enforce his being a genuine king who conducted himself according to royal tradition.

The inscription (I.102) mentions that Idrimi ruled for 30 years. Some lines before (I.91) it is said that Adad/Teshup-nirari, son of Idrimi, was entrusted with the regular offerings to the "fathers" of the dynasty. There is no evidence for a succession of Adad-nirari to the throne of Mukish, although it is possible that he ruled for a certain time but that his tablets were not taken over into the archives by Niqmepa.<sup>22</sup> Niqmepa, son of Idrimi and contemporary with king Saushtatar<sup>23</sup> (cf. AIT 13 and 14), Shunashura (of Kizzuwatna?, AIT 14), Ir-Adad/Teshup of Tunip (AIT 2) and Ibira of Ugarit (RS 4.449)<sup>24</sup>, is witnessed as successor of Idrimi. The overlordship of Saushtatar of Hurri-Mittani is shown by two legal texts concerning lawsuits, where the king of Mittani is mentioned as the highest authority (AIT 13, 14), and by his treaty with Ir-Adad/Teshup of Tunip, where he refers to the oath sworn to the king of the "Hurrian warriors" (AIT 2:74). It was possible to make a lawsuit against Niqmepa before Saushtatar (AIT 13, cf. AIT 112). Another text (AIT 340) points to an exchange of labour-force between Mukish and Hurri-Mittani. The territory controlled by Niqmepa was, as it seems, similar to that ruled by Idrimi; military campaigns of Niqmepa are not recorded.

Documents from the time of Niqmepa (AIT 15 and 330) mention a certain Ilim-ilimma as "son of the king". He certainly was the same person as Ilim-ilimma, successor of Niqmepa.<sup>25</sup> There is no evidence so far for military activities; his texts are only concerned with internal affairs. It is not clear whether the Ilim-ilimma of the Tunip treaty from the archives of Boghazköy (CTH 135) is identical with this Ilim-ilimma of Mukish, son of Niqmepa. If so, then it would mean that there was an interference by the Hittites at the time of his rule, probably to be connected with a campaign of king Tuthaliya (II/1) which is recorded in the historical introduction of the Talmi-Sharruma treaty later on (CTH 75).<sup>26</sup> The Tunip treaty mentions — in connection with Ilim-ilimma and Alalakh — a border where two places, Hashashar and Iripa, obviously were located. Hashashar could be equated with Hazazar, known

22 C.Kühne (cf. above) 220 supposes that Adad-nirari ascended to the throne after the death of Idrimi, but lost his kingship between the competing powers Egypt and Mittani and was replaced by his brother Niqmepa by order of king Saushtatar. There is no textual evidence so far for this hypothesis.

23 Here the writing Saushtatar is used for convenience, though other writings are possible (Saushsatatar, Saushsadattar, etc.).

24 GS II 335, cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, Paris 1936, 21 ff.

25 AIT 70, 85, 87, 88, 94, 103, 104 (GS 224 f.) mention Ilim-ilimma as ruling king. For AIT 48 and 49 (Ilim-ilimma, son of Tuttu) cf. G. Bunnens, *Akkadica* 10 (1978) 2 ff. The treaty of the Hittites with Tunip (KBo XIX 59+, CTH 135) points to an Ilim-ilimma of Alalakh. Ilim-ilimma used the seal of his father (cf. AIT 85): D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (AOAT 27), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 171 f.

26 KBo I 6 and dupl., cf. GS I 237 and below. For the contemporary history, especially the relations of Hatti and Syrian princes with Kizzuwatna, cf. now G. Wilhelm, in: E. Neu — Chr. Rüster (eds.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Fs. H. Otten), Wiesbaden 1988, 365–370.

from Mari texts and localized on the Orontes in the Ghab area.<sup>27</sup> There was a conflict between Alalakh and Tunip, possibly because of territorial problems in the Ghab region, which was settled by the Hittites with reference to an earlier oath between the rulers of Alalakh and Tunip.<sup>28</sup>

This evidence from Syria itself is supplemented by sources from other countries, especially from Egypt. The pharaohs of the early 18th dynasty penetrated into Syria and established their rule at least in the southern parts of the country and on the Syrian coast. As it seems, Egyptian activities in Syria had already started before Idrimi gained his kingdom in Mukish. When the Egyptian campaigns in Syria were taken up again — after the reign of queen Hatshepsut — the Egyptian army had to fight against Mittanian troops which had gained a foothold in northern Syria during the period of Egyptian inactivity.<sup>29</sup>

If a hieroglyphic inscription at a gate of Karnak, which designates a tribute bearer as a man from the Syrian city of Tunip could be interpreted as a hint of military activity and success in Syria during the reign of pharaoh Amenophis I (1525–1504)<sup>30</sup>, then already the second king of the new (18th) dynasty had ventured to campaign in central Syria, perhaps in the region between Gubla and the plain of Homs. Tuthmosis I (1504–1492) is the first king of Egypt mentioned by his name who fought in Syria (Urk.IV 697): Tuthmosis III records that he erected a stela on the eastern bank of the Euphrates beside a monument which had been placed there by Tuthmosis I. Perhaps some other references in private inscriptions of Egyptian dignitaries are also to be connected with a campaign of Tuthmosis I to the Euphrates (Urk.IV 9 f. and 36). They mention fighting in the land of Naharina, i.e. northern Syria and the eastern part of the Jezira in upper Mesopotamia, but without giving the name of the enemy. A biographical note referring to “a land called Mittani” is perhaps reflecting the same campaign, offering for the first time the name of the country which was the rival of Egypt.<sup>31</sup> The hunting of elephants in Niya, obviously in the marshes of the Ghab valley, is reported in an inscription of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Urk.IV 104, cf. GS II 61). This could point to a further station of Tuthmosis I campaign in Syria, but also to the degree to which Tuthmosis III followed the pattern of his grandfather later on.<sup>32</sup> As there is no material pertaining to activities of

27 P.Villard, UF 18 (1986) 395 and 398. As far as the location of Tunip is concerned, cf. GS II 75 ff. and, more recently, M.C.Astour, Or 38 (1969) 394 (= Hama); H.Cazelles, MUSJ 46,3 (1970) 49 f. (south of Niya and Nuhashe, not far from Ullaza); W.Helck, UF 5 (1973) 286–288 (near to the coast, southeast of Irqata); A.Kuschke, ZDPV 95 (1979) 25 (north of Homs).

28 It remains open whether this treaty was identical with the treaty between Niqmepa of Alalakh and Ir-Adad/Teshup of Tunip (ALT 2).

29 For the following outline of events cf. GS III 179–194 and also W.Helck, Beziehungen (1971) 107 ff.

30 D.B.Redford, JAOS 99 (1979) 270–287.

31 H.Brunner, MIO 4 (1956) 323 ff (biography of Amun-em-het), cf. C.Kühne, in: H.J. Nissen – J.Renger (eds.), Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn, Berlin 1982, 237 note 31.

32 For other inscriptions possibly to be connected with Tuthmosis I and his Asiatic campaign cf. D.B.Redford, JAOS 99 (1979) 276.

Tuthmosis I in Palestine, it seems that the Egyptian army used Gubla and the Akkar / Eleutheros plain as its starting point, as had been done probably by Amenophis I (?) and evidently by Tuthmosis III later on. Whether this campaign of Tuthmosis I in northern Syria touched upon Halab and caused the flight of the Ilim-ilimma family or favoured the return of Idrimi to northern Syria, depends on the solution of chronological problems posed by the textual material from both Western Asia and Egypt.

The best impression of Egyptian military activities in Syria is given by the royal and private inscriptions from the time of Tuthmosis III (1479–1425)<sup>33</sup>, pertaining to the years when Tuthmosis ruled as a monarch, i.e. after the time of queen Hatshepsut. But the first step of Tuthmosis on Syrian soil was preceded by a battle which took place during his years 22/23 in the vicinity of Megiddo. The enemy was a coalition of Syrian and Palestinian rulers, headed by the king of Qidshu / Qadesh on the Orontes,<sup>34</sup> and comprised of 330 rulers resp. tribal chiefs, if we follow a number given in the Egyptian inscription (Urk.IV 1234). They were brought together by the ruler of Qidshu from all areas up to Naharina and, perhaps, Kizzuwatna (Urk.IV 649).<sup>35</sup> It has already been proposed<sup>36</sup> that it was the king of Mittani who backed and promoted this anti-Egyptian coalition in order to stop the Egyptian advance to Syria as early as possible, perhaps remembering the campaign of Tuthmosis I. The Egyptians won the victory at Megiddo, but only after long fighting and probably with losses which convinced Tuthmosis not to march to Syria. A topographical list handed down to us from the time of Tuthmosis III and connected with the victory at Megiddo (Urk.IV 779 ff.),<sup>37</sup> mentions prisoners from various settlements not only in Palestine but also in southern Syria. This not necessarily implies that these places were really conquered by the Egyptian army. It seems more probable that the places quoted were the origins of these people who took part in the anti-Egyptian coalition. Otherwise it would point to an Egyptian raid as far as Qidshu / Qadesh;<sup>38</sup> this is

33 L.W.Casperson, JNES 45 (1986) 139–150, discusses anew the date of the enthronement of Tuthmosis III and prefers the year 1504. — In order to avoid confusion, all dates concerning the rules of Egyptian kings are given here according to J.von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Berlin 1984.

34 The statement of H.Goedicke, SSEA Journal 10 (1980) 205, "it becomes clear that the initial objective of Tuthmosis' action was the protection or strengthening of Egypt's borders" does not seem justified. Since the time of Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I Egypt had attacked Asiatic territories; to suppose an intended attack on Egypt by the coalition (or Mittani) is not convincing.

35 After the toponym Kizzuwatna there is a lacuna, obviously to be filled with a further name (Mittani?).

36 W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 118 ff.

37 Cf. A.F.Rainey, *Egyptological Studies*, Jerusalem 1982, 336 ff.

38 Qidshu appears not as the northernmost place in the list, which mentions also Damascus and Nazala (Qaryatein), Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz), Ashtaroth (southwest of Damascus), etc. Maybe that these settlements were known to the Egyptians as having participated in the hostile coalition. Women from Qidshu are mentioned as captives in Urk.IV 186.

unlikely and not supported by textual evidence. Indeed, actions in Syria itself are recorded only after a further six years.

Although the battle of Megiddo could have "opened" the land-route to Syria, Tuthmosis III started his next campaign in Asia from the same area as his forefathers, i.e. in the Akkar plain. His 5th campaign, year 29 (Urk.IV 685 ff.)<sup>39</sup>, focused at first on the conquest of Ullaza, a place on the Syrian coast north of Gubla. Here Tuthmosis III met with a garrison troop sent from Tunip (Urk.IV 686). In the hinterland, the town of Ardata was attacked, its surroundings were devastated, and its fruit-trees were cut (Urk.IV 687 f.).<sup>40</sup> The Egyptians were impressed by the wealth of the region, especially with regard to wine and cereals. By this campaign, Tuthmosis III strengthened his foothold on the Syrian coast north of Gubla.

5. Keys.

The 6th campaign took place in the following year, i.e. in the 30th year of his reign. The region of Qidshu was devastated, then the area of Sumur in the Akkar plain<sup>41</sup> and the rural territory of Ardata. But the success in the coastal region of central Syria was again only temporary. Inscriptions pertaining to the 31st year of reign (7th campaign) mention booty from Ullaza, which was recaptured and had received again a garrison from Tunip, the commander of which was taken prisoner (Urk.IV 690 ff.). Again the Egyptians were impressed by the flourishing agriculture and viticulture of the region. Ullaza now became a firm foothold of Egyptian power in Syria and a starting point for future military expeditions. An Egyptian garrison was placed in this city, and cedar wood from the Lebanon was shipped from here to the Nile valley (Urk.IV 1237). The Egyptians now established several strongholds on the Syrian coast north of Gubla, well equipped with food-stuff, enough in order to maintain a garrison and to provide for an army marching into inland Syria.

6. Keys.

7. Keys.

This penetration into the interior of Syria, which was controlled by Hurri-Mittani, started during the 33rd year of Tuthmosis' III reign and was his 8th campaign. It marked the zenith of Egyptian military success in Syria north of the plain of Homs and is recorded in the annals of the pharaoh, in his topographical texts and in inscriptions of his dignitaries.<sup>42</sup> From Syria and from the Mittanian rival pertinent material is still lacking.

8. Keys.

The annals mention Qatna in the central Syrian plain as the first place which was touched upon by the Egyptian army (Urk.IV 696).<sup>43</sup> As it seems, no serious resistance was met by Tuthmosis since he started his campaign on the sea-shore. The next event emphasized in the textual tradition was a battle fought against troops from Mittani (and perhaps from Syrian centres too) in the northern plain of Syria west of Halab, at a site called "juniper hill" (Urk.IV 891). The Mittanian army was defeated,

39 Cf. also J.H.Breasted, ARE II § 454 ff.

40 GS III 12; cf. H.Salamé-Sarkis, MUSJ 47 (1972) 123-145 and BMB 26 (1973) 99-102.

41 For the history of Sumur (Tell Kazel) cf. H.Klengel, Klio 66 (1984) 5-18, cf. also J.Sapin, Transeuphratène 1 (1989) 28 ff.

42 Urk.IV 696 ff., 889 ff., 1227 ff., 1243 ff., cf. J.H.Breasted, AR II § 476 ff. and the relevant German translations. For the historical events cf. W.Helck, Beziehungen (1971) 138 ff., and GS III 183 ff.

43 A reference to Qatna in Urk.IV 188 could be inserted, cf. GS III 186 f.

settlements in the region (i.e. of Naharina) were destroyed, fruit-trees were cut, corn was uprooted (Urk.IV 1230 f.).<sup>44</sup> The route taken by the Egyptians from Qatna to the vicinity of Halab could have followed the highland road east of the Orontes valley; a number of place names mentioned in the topographical lists (Urk.IV 786 ff.) could be connected with this march, although they are not a precise indication for the itinerary of the army.<sup>45</sup> Obviously the victorious pharaoh was greeted by the representatives of the settlements located at or near the route taken by the army.

The arrival at the Euphrates and the crossing of the river with the help of boats, which had been pre-fabricated in Gubla,<sup>46</sup> was the climax of this campaign and Egyptian military presence in Syria.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that Tuthmosis, while he was waiting for the boats,<sup>48</sup> stayed for a certain time in northeastern Syria where he received the submission of quite a number of settlements the names of which might occur in his topographical lists (Urk.IV 786 ff.). After having crossed the "river which flows upside down" (in comparison with the Nile), he erected his stela of victory beside that of Tuthmosis I.<sup>49</sup> The king of Hurri-Mittani, who had withdrawn from the Euphrates to the plains of northern Mesopotamia, is not mentioned by name; as it seems, it was not Saushtatar, but one of his predecessors.<sup>50</sup> Tuthmosis did not pursue him, but went — from the region of Karkamish — down the Euphrates, devastating the country alongside the river (Urk.IV 1246) as far as the river port of Emar.<sup>51</sup> From here he obviously used the caravan route running through northern Syria westward.

The next Syrian region in which the presence of Tuthmosis III and his army is attested by Egyptian texts is located on the middle Orontes, i.e. in the Ghab valley. In the land of Niya the pharaoh hunted for elephants as Tuthmosis I had done

- 44 This practice, very common in the warfare of the ancient Near East and other regions, could be interpreted as a feeling of the victor that it was not certain if he would be able to keep and secure his conquests or not.
- 45 At Hama scarabs of Tuthmosis III were discovered, cf. B.Porter — R.L.B.Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, VII, Oxford 1951, 392. As scarabs of the same king are known also from northern Syria (ibid.396), a connection with the route taken by the Egyptian army through Syria at the time of Tuthmosis III would be unjustified; cf. also D.B.Redford, *JAOS* 99 (1979) 276.
- 46 Cf. D.B.Redford, *SSEA Journal* 10 (1979) 63–70.
- 47 Accordingly, there are many references to this event: Urk.IV 697 f., 891, 1232, 1245 f., 1370, 1467; cf. also Urk.IV 587 (extension of the "ends of Egypt" as far as Naharina) and 613 (crossing of the water of Naharina).
- 48 It seems quite certain that Mittani was anxious not to leave boats on the Euphrates which could be used by the Egyptians in order to cross the river.
- 49 Cf. also the fragment of an inscription published by A.Spaling, *JNES* 37 (1978) 35–41, which refers to the fact that "his" stela was brought to Thebes. Spalinger assumes that this was done with a stela of the king of Mittani, not of Tuthmosis I. At Thebes the stela was placed to commemorate the victory of Tuthmosis III.
- 50 For the sequence of Mittanian kings, which cannot be discussed here, cf. G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 9 ff.; G.M.Avetisjan, *Gosudarstvo Mitanni*, Erevan 1984, 34 ff.
- 51 The topographical list Urk.IV 786 ff. mentions some places which could be localized in the Euphrates area between Karkamish (cf. Urk.IV 891) and Emar (Urk.IV 790 No.192).

previously. This was the third important event of the campaign, reflected by several inscriptions.<sup>52</sup> If the undertakings of the Egyptians are reported in the right chronological order, fighting in central Syrian areas occurred after the victory at Halab, the crossing of the Euphrates and the hunt for elephants in the Orontes valley. This could point to the strong position held by Hurri-Mittani in central Syria, which encouraged and backed the local Syrian rulers when resisting Tuthmosis. The land of Tahshi (northern Biqa') was hostile (Urk.IV 893), and about 30 settlements of this region, which was densely settled also according to archaeological evidence,<sup>53</sup> were plundered (Urk.IV 1442). As is expressed in a biography (Urk.IV 892, 894), Qidshu / Qadesh, which was perhaps supported by Mittani,<sup>54</sup> was conquered after a fight near Zinzar (Sheizar, Urk.IV 891 f.). The return to Egypt followed the land-route, if we connect the activities in the Negev (Urk.IV 890) with this campaign, or the sea-route from Ullaza or Gubla.

Thus the 8th campaign of Tuthmosis III was successful, but it did not make Syria north of the plain of Homs part of the Egyptian empire. That the success was rather ephemeral, is shown by the fact that Tuthmosis III was forced to fight again in Syria during his next (34th) year. The annals mention for his 9th campaign a conquest or submission of three settlements of Nuhashe, if we maintain the equation of *ngs* with the country well known from cuneiform sources (Urk.IV 704).<sup>55</sup> During the 35th year (10th campaign) Tuthmosis met again with troops from Mittani (Urk.IV 709 ff.);<sup>56</sup> he was victorious and collected booty (Urk.IV 712). For the year 38 (13th campaign) a presence of Tuthmosis in Nuhashe is mentioned, where prisoners and booty were taken (Urk.IV 716 f.). Even the ruler of Alalakh (Niqmepa or Ilm-ilimma?) sent gifts, consisting of slaves, copper "of his mountain", timber and "sweet plants" (Urk.IV 719 f.). As it seems, northern Syria remained the main object of Egyptian political activities in Asia, and the coastal footholds were obviously a good basis for raids into inland Syria. Tuthmosis was anxious to take care of the supply and all other necessary equipment for these places, partly taken from the tribute paid by Syrian rulers and especially sent from the Lebanon.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, even in this region a rebellion occurred against Egyptian overlordship, possibly supported by Mittani. During his year 42, his 17th campaign (Urk.IV 729 ff.), Tuthmosis had to focus his efforts on the coastal area and on central Syria again. Irqata was devastated,

9. Kamp

10. Kamp

13. Kamp

17. Kamp

52 Urk.IV 698, 1233, 1245, cf. 893 f.

53 GS III 57 f., cf. A.Kuschke - S.Mittmann - U.Müller, Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa', Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976.

54 Urk.IV 892 mentions Maryannu people among those who were taken prisoner.

55 GS II 18-57, cf. W.Helck, AfO 22 (1968-1969) 28. The place name *ngs* mentioned here and in lists of booty from the time of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II is identified by N.Na'aman, Tel Aviv 3-4 (1977) 171 f., and A.Spälinger, SSEA Journal 13 (1983) 99 f., not with Nuhashe but with a place in Transjordan. The arguments seem still not convincing.

56 W.Helck, Beziehungen (1971) 153 f., thinks that this fighting took place northwest of Halab; cf. GS III 188.

57 A text from the time of Tuthmosis III (Urk.IV 532 ff.) reports a journey to Gubla in order to receive timber for a flagstaff in Egypt.

and also an other town, the name of which is not fully preserved. Afterwards the Egyptians marched to Tunip, which was one of the strongholds of Mittanian power in Syria. Tunip was destroyed, its corn was uprooted, its fruit-trees were cut. In the region of Qidshu / Qadesh several settlements were conquered, and auxiliary troops from Naharina were taken prisoners (Urk.IV 730 f.).

These events clearly point to the fact, that — despite the successful campaigns of the Egyptian army — the permanent political rule of Egypt was reduced to a line running from the coast through the Akkar plain to the region of modern Homs. On the sea-shore, Egyptian influence could have found a foothold as far as Ugarit in the north.<sup>58</sup> As to inland Syria, the northern and central parts remained under the control of Hurri-Mittani. During his last years of reign, Tuthmosis was active no more in Syria. His Mittanian contemporaries succeeded in defending their influence established before Tuthmosis became the monarch of Egypt, and the withdrawal from northern Syria was perhaps accelerated by the military pressure which the king of Mittani, now probably Saushtatar,<sup>59</sup> could have exercised.

The Egyptian sources of the time of Tuthmosis III mention only once the king of Hatti, who is said to have sent a "tribute" to the pharaoh after the victorious 8th campaign to northern Syria (Urk.IV 701), as was also done by the kings of Babylonia and Assyria. The identity of this Hittite king is not clear, and it is a pure hypothesis to connect this gesture of a Hittite monarch with the name and the deeds of Tuthaliya II (I), as long as the chronology of the Hittite kings before Shuppiluliuma I and the synchronisms with Egyptian history are not definitely fixed. Hittite interference into Syrian matters which could have happened about this time is indicated by the Tunip treaty (CTH 135) and the historical introduction of the Talmi-Sharruma treaty (CTH 75). The latter tradition refers (lines 15 ff.) to military activities of Tuthaliya in northern Syria, where Halab was again a focal point of interest. If we follow the introduction of the Talmi-Sharruma treaty,<sup>60</sup> Halab lost its importance in this period of a strong Hittite-Mittanian confrontation, which resulted in a continuation of Mittanian overlordship. An agreement of Hatti with Egypt, briefly indicated in a later treaty (CTH 134),<sup>61</sup> could have been made during the time of Tuthmosis III, although there is no proof for it so far.

Returning to the deeds of the kings of Egypt, inscriptions from the period of Amenophis II (1428–1397), son and successor of Tuthmosis III, are available which are pertinent for Syrian history.<sup>62</sup> To his 3rd year of reign belongs a stela from Amada

58 In case Urk.IV 1312 could be interpreted as an expedition to Ugarit, then an Egyptian garrison could have been stationed there already during the reign of Tuthmosis III.

59 For the consequences of the consolidation of the state of Hurri-Mittani for Syria cf. G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 37, and C.Kühne, in: H.J.Nissen — J.Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 219 ff.

60 A new interpretation of this text is given by N.Na'aman, JCS 32 (1980) 34–42. Cf. also H.Klengel, in: Fs. S.Alp (forthcoming).

61 D.Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht. Zu historischen Aussagen und literarischer Stellung des Textes CTH 379*, Pavia 1985, 22 ff.

62 Cf. Sh.Yeivin, JARCE 6 (1967) 119–128; A.F.Rainey, JARCE 10 (1973) 71–75.

(Urk.IV 1287 ff.), which refers to a slaying of seven chiefs of the Tahshi district, i.e. the northern Biqa' (Urk.IV 1297). This territory was part of the Egyptian "zone" of Syria – probably the reason why the activity of Amenophis II during his 7th year (Urk.IV 1300 ff.)<sup>63</sup> was officially considered as "the first victorious campaign in order to widen his frontiers and to reward his allies" (Urk.IV 1301).<sup>64</sup> The Egyptian army crossed Palestine, arrived at Qidshu / Qadesh, drove back horsemen coming from Qatna and took some prisoners, among them chariot-warriors called Mariyannu (Urk.IV 1303 and 1311). The inscriptions continue their report with a march southward to Niya in the valley of the middle Orontes. As Niya was certainly north of Qidshu, an advance of the Egyptians to northern Syria could be deducted, possibly with results not worth being recorded.<sup>65</sup> From Niya Amenophis II marched to a place where an uprising against an Egyptian garrison had occurred previously intending to change the mind of the ruler in favour of the enemy of Egypt (Mittani?). The identification of this place as Ugarit is disputed.<sup>66</sup> In any case, the rebels were defeated and killed; Amenophis returned to the Orontes valley and arrived at Qidshu. The local ruler swore (again?) an oath to the pharaoh. After having arranged an archery contest and a hunt in the neighbourhood of Qidshu, in the northern Biqa',<sup>67</sup> Amenophis alone (?) rode to a town called Hashabu, about 30 km from the place where he had left his army.<sup>68</sup> Obviously the appearance of the pharaoh should be demonstrated as sufficient to strengthen the Egyptian rule in this area, which belonged to the Egyptian zone of Syria. Members of the nobility of Hashabu were taken prisoner or as hostages (Urk.IV 1304/1313). It seems that the Egyptian army then returned to the Nile valley, obviously on the land-route through Palestine. Syria was not again touched by the military activities of Amenophis II.<sup>69</sup>

It was during the reign of Amenophis II that a conciliation between Egypt and Mittani was initiated, and the first step was perhaps taken by the king of Hurri-

63 According to A.F.Rainey, JARCE 10 (1973) 71–75, in Urk.IV 1301:10 should be read Tahshi instead of Nubia.

64 Sh.Yeivin, JARCE 6 (1967) 120, explains the numbering of the campaigns by the argument that Amenophis II would not yet have been ruling alone when the campaign of the 3rd year was undertaken.

65 W.Helck, AfO 22 (1968–1969) 21 ff., is inclined to interpret a fragmentary inscription (Urk.IV 1317 f.) as evidence for an Egyptian advance as far as Haka. If *ngs* in Urk.IV 1309 could be equated with Nuhashe, then prisoners from this country could have been made during an Egyptian presence in northern Syria.

66 Cf. GS II 336, 339. Against an identification: Sh.Yeivin, JARCE 6 (1967) 122 f., who locates the place somewhere east of the Orontes in central Syria, and A.Altman, Bar Ilan 13 (1976) 1–16.

67 The event is located at Lebwe by the text of the inscription, cf. E.Edel, ZA 16 (1952) 258.

68 Hashabu was equated with Tell Hashbe 16 km southwest of Baalbek, cf. GS III 62 and A.Kuschke, ZDPV 70 (1954) 120 note 59; M.Nothe, ZDPV 72 (1956) 66 f.; A.Kuschke, ZDPV 74 (1958) 99 and A.Kuschke – S.Mittmann – U.Müller, Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa', Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976.

69 The campaign of Amenophis II during his 9th year of reign did obviously not reach Syrian territory. A.Spälinger, SSEA Journal 13 (1983) 89–101, considers this military action as the suppression of a revolt in the Yesreel valley. The reference to people from



Mittani.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, this is not a contradiction to a list of offerings of Tuthmosis IV (1397–1387) mentioning booty taken by the pharaoh in [Nahar]ina during “the first victorious campaign” (Urk.IV 1554), and a later Amarna letter (EA 85) pointing to a personal presence of this king at Sidon.<sup>71</sup> Naharina is mentioned several times in other texts belonging to the time of Tuthmosis IV: It is attested together with Babylonia, Tunip, Qidshu / Qadesh and Tahshi (Urk.IV 1560), as the origin of gifts brought by one of the “great” to the pharaoh (Urk.IV 1597 f.), as a land entered by a chariot-officer, who followed his lord (Urk.IV 1617), and as home of “children of the great of Naharina”, who were taken (hostage?) according to a tomb inscription of another official (Urk.IV 1620).<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, there is no secure indication for a military campaign by Tuthmosis IV into the Mittanian sphere of Syria.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, later documents show peaceful relations between Egypt and Mittani: According to an Amarna letter (EA 29), Tuthmosis received the daughter of Artatama I of Mittani as his wife. The long preparation of the marriage as indicated by the text of the letter could have been caused by the political aims of both kings. Later, Amenophis III (1387–1350) also took a Mittanian princess (Giluhepa), daughter of Shuttarna (II), into his harem (EA 17 and 29). The inscription of an Egyptian commemorative scarab dates this event into the year 10 of Amenophis’ III reign (Urk.IV 1738). The same pharaoh married another Mittanian princess, daughter of Tushratta (EA 29, cf. EA 19–24). When Amenophis fell ill, he received a statue of the goddess Saushga/Ishtar of Nineveh, which was considered to have powers of healing, from the Mittanian king Shuttarna. Shortly before the death of Amenophis III the statue was sent again to Egypt, this time by Tushratta (EA 23). It seems, that the danger of a Hittite attack on Mittani caused the kings of this state to improve their relations with Egypt. On the other hand, Egypt might have seen that it was not able to extend its frontiers northward into Mittanian territory, i.e. northern Syria.

After the end of the archives of Alalakh IV, the Egyptian inscriptions and some glimpses from the cuneiform tradition of the Hittites thus became the main sources for our knowledge of Syrian history before the Amarna letters and the archives of

Syria in a royal letter (Urk.IV 1343 f.) cannot be taken as evidence for a further campaign of Amenophis II into Syria. It remains also unclear if king Hattushili II of Hatti interfered in Syria, as a later tradition could imply (CTH 75).

70 It is possible that the growing power of Hatti and activities of Hatti in northern Syria were the background for this policy. It was also Mittani which sent princesses to the court of Egypt later on. For the situation cf. W. Helck, MDOG 92 (1960) 3 and Beziehungen (1962) 161; GS II 192; C. Kühne, Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El Amarna (AOAT 17), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 20 note 85.

71 Urk.IV 1554 could indicate a journey undertaken by the pharaoh in order to receive homage by the local rulers of the Egyptian zone, and EA 85 could be connected with this inspection.

72 In a badly preserved context Naharina appears again in the same inscription (Urk.IV 1628). The “great” of Naharina is attested also in the inscription of a scarab, cf. A.W. Shorter, JEA 17 (1931) 23; F.A. Bannister – H.J. Plenderleith, JEA 22 (1936) 3; R. Givon, JNES 28 (1969) 55.

73 Cf. also R. Givon, JNES 28 (1969) 54–59.

Ugarit and Hattusha begin to furnish extensive information. There is still very poor textual evidence from Syrian sites so far. Tablets from Qatna (el-Mishrife) mention the names of several rulers of this city: Naplimma, Sinadu, Adad-nirari, Ulashuda(?) and Idadda.<sup>74</sup> The first of them, Naplimma, was a contemporary of Durusha, king of Qidshu / Qadesh.<sup>75</sup> Ugarit was also ruled by its own dynasty, and Ibira, mentioned as king of Ugarit in a letter addressed to him by Niqmepa of Alalakh,<sup>76</sup> should have reigned in the period in question. There is no evidence to suggest Gubla was a royal residence, but it was ruled by an Egyptian governor coming from the local aristocracy.<sup>77</sup> Leaving aside retrospective mention of a certain Taku, king of Nuhashe (EA 51:4-9), there is no further Syrian ruler known by his name, although it may be taken for certain that a number of other centres had their local dynasties too. Furthermore, we have to reckon with some political units still not documented in the texts or rather shortlived, and we have to include tribal chiefs governing areas between the urban centres. If the number of 330 chiefs with their own troops, given in the Egyptian description of the battle of Megiddo (Urk.IV 1234), is reliable at all, it would certainly include such tribal chiefs from Syria and Palestine.

This political structure of Syria and the wealth of the country attracted foreign powers and facilitated their success. As far as the Mittanian zone is concerned, there is little evidence for the organization of Mittanian administration. As demonstrated by the texts from Alalakh IV, the submission of Syrian principalities was confirmed by an oath sworn by the vassal to his Mittanian overlord (Idrimi 1.45 ff, ALT 2 and 3). If one can generalize this system, the Syrian rulers were permitted to have their own foreign contacts, if these did not contradict to the oath. They exercised local autonomy, except in cases when the interests of the overlord were touched upon (cf. ALT 13, 14). Thus, the king of Hurri-Mittani was the highest authority for decisions in lawsuits when people from other principalities were involved. Military support of the overlord was surely one of the duties of the vassal, who had also to send gifts / tribute and to feed Mittanian troops.

As far as the Egyptian territory of Syria is concerned, the best witness for its organization comes from the Amarna letters.<sup>78</sup> But already the first pharaohs of the 18th dynasty seem to have introduced some elements of Egyptian administration

74 Ch.Virolleaud, Syria 9 (1928) 90-96 and 11 (1930) 311-342; J.Bottéro, RA 43 (1949) 1-40, 137-215; cf. GS II 107 f. Inventory texts, economic texts, a contract and an astrological text (cf. Ch.Virolleaud, Syria 8 [1927] 292-294; J.Bottéro, RA 44 [1950] 105-112).

75 GS II 107 f. and C.Epstein, JNES 22 (1963) 242.

76 RS 4.449, cf. B.Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 49; GS II 335; K.A.Kitchen, UF 9 (1977) 131-142.

77 G.T.Martin, Berytus 18 (1969) 81-83, published a scarab with an inscription, which mentions a ruler of Gubla named *Rynty*; possibly to be dated into the period between 1650 and 1550.

78 GS III 196-203; R.Hachmann, ZDPV 98 (1982) 17-49; S.Israelit-Groll, in: M.Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque pontes* (Fs. H.Brunner, Wiesbaden 1983, 234-242); H.Klengel, in: Sh.Sha'ath (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine*, II, Aleppo 1987, 77-84.

which still worked during the Amarna period. Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II took an oath from the defeated local rulers, and they tried to strengthen these weak ties by military presence.<sup>79</sup> After the battle of Megiddo the submitted enemies of the coalition had to swear loyalty for their lives (Urk.IV 1235 f). They received back their dignity from the pharaoh. Sometimes, as is shown by the case of Taku of Nuhashe (EA 51), the Egyptian king installed new rulers, who mostly belonged to the local aristocracy, i.e. had a firm footing in the respective society.

The letters from Amarna and from Kamid el-Loz (southern Biqa') point to the function of two officials in Egyptian Syria. One of them resided — until the Amarna period — in Sumur (Akkar plain), the other in Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz).<sup>80</sup> Both residences were located in areas important from a strategical point of view. The title of these Egyptian officials was *rabisu* in Akkadian ("commissioner"), "head of the northern foreign countries" in Hieroglyphic Egyptian; while the Syrians obviously called them *sakinu/sokinu*.<sup>81</sup> They were representatives of the Egyptian crown and its interests, they controlled the local rulers or mayors and were certainly in charge of the duties of the cities to be paid to the pharaoh (cf. Urk.IV 1236, 1247, 1255). They did not function necessarily as mediators between the city governors and the pharaoh; it was possible to apply directly to the authority of the Egyptian king (cf. the Amarna texts). The pharaoh himself contacted the local rulers through the commissioners, by sending special messengers or tablets(!) addressed to these officials.

Egyptian garrisons or at least a temporary presence of Egyptian troops are attested in several Syrian towns (Gubla, Ullaza, etc.).<sup>82</sup> The *rabisu* of Sumur had a guard (EA 62, cf. \*371), as also the other officials of this rank would have had. The number of soldiers stationed permanently in Syria was not great, if we follow the testimony of the Amarna letters; 30 to 50 people were considered enough to be efficient (cf. EA 139). In general, the system of administration, which included royal domains and territories directly belonging to members of the royal household, was similar to that exercised in Nubia (Kush) and was more integrative than the system of Mittanian or — later on — Hittite overlordship.

79 Cf. E.Edel, ZDPV 69 (1953) 165 f.; W.Helck, Beziehungen (1971) 256 ff.

80 For Sumur cf. H.Klengel, Klio 66 (1984) 5–18, for Kumidi R.Hachmann, in: Archéologie au Levant. Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah, Paris — Lyon 1982, 133–146.

81 G.Buccellati, OA 2 (1963) 223, and A.F.Rainey, Or 35 (1966) 426–428, cf. also D.O.Edzard, RIA VII/5 (1989) 449–453.

82 EA 81, 90, 125, 138, Urk.IV 1237. Rib-Adda of Gubla several times refers to troops of Egypt stationed at Gubla during the reigns of earlier pharaohs, cf. EA 117, 121, 122, 125 and 130.

## 2. Syria at the time of Egyptian and Hittite overlordship (c.1350–1200 B.C.)

### a) Sources.

The period beginning during the so-called Amarna Age about the middle of the 14th century and ending with the invasion of the "Sea Peoples" in the early 12th century B.C. is the chapter of Syrian pre-hellenistic history which is the best documented so far. Among the native textual sources, i.e. material discovered at sites in Syria itself, those of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) are the most important ones. Dating from the 14th to the end of the 13th centuries, they cover the whole period in question. The French excavations started in 1929, and they are still running today.<sup>83</sup> During these years of archaeological investigation several thousands of clay tablets with cuneiform texts in various languages, mostly syllabic Akkadian and alphabetic Ugaritic, were unearthed. Akkadian was primarily used for "diplomatic" purposes, i.e. for the communication with other kingdoms. The texts handed down to us in this language therefore furnish most valuable information on political history. The alphabetic texts in Ugaritic mostly concern economic affairs and religious traditions. Furthermore, there are texts in cuneiform Sumerian and Hurrian, in hieroglyphic Egyptian and in a script close to Linear B (Cyprian). The predominant part of this textual evidence was found in archives excavated in the palace or its vicinity. In the royal palace were housed the central, eastern and southern (international) archives, and a number of texts were found in a kiln of court V. In addition, archives were also discovered in private houses of the palace quarter, belonging to a certain Rashap-abu, to Rap'anu, and a "scholar". In the southern part of the city texts of a person mainly interested in literature and of a Hurrian priest came to light, while a new area with epigraphic material was opened in the southwestern quarter of Ugarit in 1971.

- J.-C. Courtois, in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 9, Paris 1979, 1222–1288, with a bibliography of the epigraphic discoveries on pp.1289–1294; W.H. van Soldt, in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, 196–204; M. Liverani, *SEL* 5 (1988) 121–142. According to J.-Cl. Courtois, *Syria* 65 (1988) 389–394, the diplomatic correspondence of Ugarit was kept in the Eastern Archives of the royal palace.

The editing of these texts is not yet finished; their publication is not focused on a special series, but dispersed over several series and monographs. Ugaritic and

83 For the results of these excavations and their importance with regard to history, philology and archaeology of the ancient Near East cf. the retrospectives and perspectives published in the volumes *AAAS XXIX-XXX* (1979–1980), in *UF* 11 (1979, dedicated to Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer), and by G.D. Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, Winona Lake 1981.

related studies are the main concern of the journal "Ugarit-Forschungen" (UF).<sup>84</sup>

Publication of texts:

- ▶ Le Palais royal d'Ugarit (=PRU), ed. by CLF.-A.Schaeffer. As far as texts are concerned, they are to be found in following volumes:  
 PRU II: Ch.Virolleaud, Textes alphabétiques des Archives East, Ouest et Centrales, Paris 1957.  
 PRU III: J.Nougayrol, Textes accadiens et hourrites des Archives Est, Ouest et Centrales, Paris 1955.  
 PRU IV: J.Nougayrol, Textes accadiens des Archives Sud (Archives Internationales), Paris 1956.<sup>85</sup>  
 PRU V: Ch.Virolleaud, Textes alphabétiques des archives Sud, Sud-Ouest et du Petit-Palais, Paris 1965.  
 PRU VI: J.Nougayrol, Textes cunéiformes babyloniens des Archives du Grand Palais et du Palais sud d'Ugarit, Paris 1970.  
 Ugaritica, ed. by CLF.-A.Schaeffer. As far as texts are concerned, cf. the volumes:  
 Ugaritica III: CLF.-A.Schaeffer, Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes chyro-minoennes (cf. O.Masson, Ugaritica VI, 1969, 379-392) et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra, Paris 1956.<sup>86</sup>  
 Ugaritica V: CLF.-A.Schaeffer - J.Nougayrol - E.Laroche - Ch.Virolleaud, Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des Archives et Bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques, Paris 1968.  
 Ugaritica VII: Fal-Ouche - A.Caquot et al., Paris - London 1978; cf. especially the contributions of A.Herdner (p.1-74, 75-78), A.Caquot (p.121-134, 389-398) and J.T.Milik (p.135-146).  
 For the alphabetic texts, two corpora were published:  
 A.Herdner, Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939, Paris 1963; M.Dietrich - O.Loretz - J.Sanmartín, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit (=KTU) I (AOAT 24/1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976. Cf. also A.Caquot - J.-M.de Tarragon - J.-L.Cunchillos, Textes ougaritiques, II: Textes religieux et rituels, correspondance, Paris 1989.  
 Further text publications: L.R.Fisher, The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets (AnOr 48), Rome 1971; M.Dietrich - O.Loretz, Die Elfenbeinschriften und

84 The quantity of publications dealing with material from Ugarit is immense, last but not least because of contacts with the tradition of the Old Testament. A special bibliography offers, although with some delay, the pertinent titles arranged after years and with indexes: M.Dietrich - O.Loretz - W.C.Delsman, Ugarit-Bibliographie 1928-1966 (AOAT 20/1-4) and 1967-1971 (AOAT 20/5), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973 and 1986.

85 To p.214 (RS 17.152) add an Akkadian letter from a private collection: F.M.Fales, OA 23 (1984) 163-166.

86 For the seals of Ugarit cf. now CLF.-A.Schaeffer, Corpus I des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia, Paris 1983.

S-Texte aus Ugarit (AOAT 13), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976; PXella, I testi rituali di Ugarit, I: Testi, Roma 1981.

These texts pertain in a different way to the political history of Syria. There are treaties concluded by Hittite kings with rulers of Ugarit (PRU IV 84 ff.) or other Syrian princes (PRU IV 134 ff., 284), proposals for alliances (PRU IV 53 ff.), decrees of the Hittite king or the king of Karkamish (PRU IV 121 ff., 137 f., 150 f.), letters addressed to the kings of Ugarit,<sup>87</sup> letters of the king (i.e. the last period of Ugarit: PRU V 79 ff. and 189 ff.), decisions concerning the territory of Ugarit (PRU IV 71 ff.). The pertinent sources will be referred to in the historical outline. To this material should be added a letter from Ugarit discovered at Tell Aphek in Palestine;<sup>88</sup> there is also a letter possibly from Mari to Ugarit.<sup>89</sup>

Not far from Ugarit, at Ras Ibn Hani, perhaps a summer residence of the kings of Ugarit and probably identical with ancient Appu or Biruti,<sup>90</sup> joint Syrian-French excavations<sup>91</sup> have yielded texts both in syllabic Akkadian and alphabetic Ugaritic which belong to the same time as the material from Ugarit itself.

- P.Bordreuil – A.Caquot, Syria 56 (1979) 295–315 and 57 (1980) 343–373; D.Arnaud – D.A.Kennedy, Syria 56 (1979) 317–324; P.Bordreuil, in: La Syrie au Bronze Récent, Paris 1982, 43–45, cf. AAAS 29–30 (1978–1980) 11–15; cf. the summary given by A.Bounni, in: H.Klengel (ed.), Geschichte und Kultur im alten Vorderasien, Berlin 1982, 17–21, and M.Dietrich – O.Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 401 f.

Some texts in alphabetic cuneiform, but not always identical with the script known from Ugarit, were discovered at various sites not only in the coastal region of Syria, but also in the interior of the country. They demonstrate the wide use of this system of writing in Syria.<sup>92</sup>

- P.J.Riis, AAS 11 (1960) 141 (Tell Sukas/Shuksi); G.Wilhelm, UF 5 (1973) 284 f., and G.Mansfeld, in: R.Hachmann (ed.), Kamid el-Loz 1977–1981, Bonn 1986, 155–158 (Kamid el-Loz/Kumidi); A.R.Millard, UF 8 (1976) 459 f. (Tell Nebi Mend/Qidshu); P.Bordreuil, UF 11 (1979) 63–68 (Sarafand/Sarepta), and id., Semitica 32 (1982) 5–14.

87 PRU III 3 ff., IV 188, 192 ff., 217 ff.; Ugaritica V 69 ff. and VII 121 ff., S.Lackenbacher, RA 76 (1982) 141–156; cf. W.T.Pitard, Maarav 4/1 (1978) 75–86.

88 D.I.Owen, Tel Aviv 8 (1981) 1–17; I.Singer, Tel Aviv 10 (1983) 3–25.

89 S.Lackenbacher, MARI 3 (1984) 185–189.

90 D.Arnaud, Syria 61 (1984) 15–23.

91 Cf. A.Bounni – E.et J.Lagarce – N.Saliby, Syria 53 (1976) 232–279 and 55 (1978) 233–311, etc.

92 The same is true for Palestine, cf. G.A.Barton, BASOR 52 (1933) 5 f.; W.F.Albright, BASOR 173 (1964) 51–53 (Beth Shemesh; KTU 8.1); D.R.Hillers, BASOR 173 (1964) 45–50; F.M.Jr.Cross, BASOR 190 (1968) 41–46 (Tell Ta'anakh, KTU 4.767); S.Yeivin, Qedem 2 (1945) 32–41; A.Herdner, Syria 25 (1946–1948) 165–168 (Mount Tabor, KTU 6.1). Cf. also P.Bordreuil, UF 11 (1979) 63.

The excavations conducted by a German team at Kumidi (Kamid el-Loz) in the southern Biqa' unearthed some cuneiform tablets which belong to the Amarna type of texts.<sup>93</sup>

- ▶ D.O.Edzard, in: D.O.Edzard – R.Hachmann – P.Maiberger – G.Mansfeld, Kamid el-Loz – Kumidi (SBA 7), Bonn 1970, 55–62; G.Wilhelm, ZA 63 (1973) 69–75; D.O.Edzard, ZA 66 (1976) 62–67 (cf. SBA 32, 1982, 131–135). All these texts are letters. An exercise text was published by D.O.Edzard, ZA 70 (1980) 52–54, a fragment of unknown type cf. D.O.Edzard, in: R.Hachmann (ed.), Kamid el-Loz 1977–1981 (SBA 36), Bonn 1986, 145–147.

A private cuneiform document was found by chance in Banyas. It could be dated into the late 13th or early 12th centuries.

- ▶ S.Lackenbacher, in: J.-M.Durand – J.-R.Kupper (eds.), Miscellanea Babylonica (Fs M.Birot), Paris 1985, 153–160 (for the seal cf. D.Beyer, *ibid.* 39–44).

At Qidshu/Qadesh<sup>94</sup>, now Tell Nebi Mend on the Orontes, the British expedition discovered some cuneiform tablets, letters to king Niqma-Adad/Niqmadu of Qidshu, within the relatively small area of the Tell not covered by the village or the cemetery.

- ▶ A.R.Millard, UF 8 (1976) 459 f. and AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 203 (variant of alphabetic Ugaritic); P.J.Parr, AfO 26 (1978–1979) 161 f. and A.R.Millard, AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 202. For a stela of pharaoh Seti I cf. M.Pézard, Syria 3 (1922) 108 f.

A confirmation of the assumption that the soil of Syria still hides a great amount of textual information,<sup>95</sup> was given by the French excavations at Emar (Meskene) on the right bank of the Euphrates, now submerged by the Euphrates lake. The cuneiform texts found there are in written Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian and Hittite and belong to the last period of the Late Bronze Age (late 14th to early 12th centuries B.C.). The earlier archives of this city which is mentioned already in the Ebla texts<sup>96</sup> could not be saved because of the rising water level of the lake which forced the archaeologists to stop their work at this site.

93 An outline of the cuneiform material of the Amarna period which was discovered in Syria and Palestine is given by D.O.Edzard, in: Biblical Archaeology Today (Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984), Jerusalem 1985, 248–259.

94 Here and in the other references the reading Qidshu is given the preference, cf. A.F.Rainey, UF 3 (1971) 143 n.75; W.L.Moran, Les lettres d'El-Amarna, Paris 1987, *passim*.

95 Of unknown origin and without information on political history, but from the Late Bronze Age of Syria is the text published by J.-W.Meyer – G.Wilhelm, Damaszener Mitteilungen 1 (1983) 249–261. – For the earliest traces of the development of the Semitic linear script in Syria and Palestine cf. the outline by W.Röllig, Das Altertum 31 (1985) 83–91.

96 Cf. the summary of references by H.Klengel, OLZ 83 (1988) 645–653 and the new evidence published by A.Archi and J.-M.Durand in MARI 6 (1990) 21–38 and 39–92.

- D.Arnaud, *Emar VI: Textes sumériens et accadiens* (Recherches au pays d'Aštata, 1-4, Paris 1985-1987. Further volumes are in preparation.<sup>97</sup>) Cf. also other texts from Emar and vicinity, now mostly in private collections: J.Huehnergard, *RA* 77 (1983) 11-43; D.Arnaud, *Aula orientalis* 2 (1984) 179-188, and 5 (1987) 211-241; A.Tsukimoto, *AcSum* 6 (1984) 65-74, and 10 (1988) 153-189; G.Beckman, *JCS* 40 (1988) 61-68; cf. also a Middle Assyrian legal text from el-Qitar: D.C.Snell, *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983-1984) 159-170 (13th century, Hurrian personal names), and an "Emar-type" economic text from the antiquities market: R.M.Whiting, *State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin* II/2 (1988) 99-101.

After the material from Syria itself evidence from other regions must be mentioned. At Tell el-Amarna (Akhetaton), about 300 kms south of Cairo in middle Egypt, cuneiform texts — nearly all are letters — were discovered. A considerable part of these letters have their origins in Syrian cities. The first tablets became known to the scholarly world about 1887. Since that year, the Amarna texts have been augmented considerably, at present numbering 382 texts and fragments.<sup>98</sup> They are all in Babylonian with few exceptions: EA 15 is Assyrian, EA 24 Hurrian, EA 31 and 32 are Hittite. As to their time of being drawn up, the earliest could have their origin in the 30th and following years of Amenophis III, the latest should date earlier than the 3rd year of Tutankhamon, when he left Akhetaton. The texts cover a period of about two to three decades in the middle of the 14th century B.C.<sup>99</sup>

- J.A.Knudtson, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln* (VAB 2/1-2), Leipzig 1907 and 1915 (reprint Aalen 1964); A.F.Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379* (AOAT 8), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970 (new edition 1978). A new translation

- 97 A first catalogue of texts was published by D.Arnaud, *AAAS* 25 (1975) 87-93; for the contents of the legal texts cf. W.F.Leemans, *JESHO* 31 (1988) 207-242, for a detailed review of the texts published in *Emar VI* 1-4 see M.Civil, *Aula Orientalis* VII/1 (1989) 5-25; J.-M.Durand, *RA* 83 (1989) 163-191 (to be continued). — The vol.V (E.Laroche) will contain the Hittite texts, vol.VII (E.Laroche — M.Salvini) the Hurrian texts. Other volumes will be devoted to texts not from the French excavations but from Emar and vicinity, to commentaries and glossaries, cf. D.Arnaud, *Hethitica* VIII (1987) 19 n.1. The archaeological report will appear as *Emar I-IV*.
- 98 The most recent outline of discovery, languages and publication of the Amarna tablets is given by W.L.Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 13-28. For the problems of chronology cf. *ibid.* pp.47-56 and C.Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna* (AOAT 17), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973.
- 99 The letters pertain to affairs of Gubla/Byblos (EA 67-96, 101-140, 362), Amurru (EA 60-65, 156-168, cf. 169 and 371), Ugarit (EA 45-48?), Nuhashe (EA 51), Qatna (EA 52-55), Tunip (EA 59, 170?), Ammiya? (EA 99), Irqata (EA 100), Beruta (EA 141-143), Sidon (EA 144-145), Tyre (EA 146-155, 295), Hashabu (EA 174), Hazi (EA 175, 185-186), Enishazi (EA 187, 363), Guddashuna (EA 177), Qidshu/Qadesh (EA 189-190), Ruhizzi (EA 191-192), Ube (EA 194-197), Kumidi (EA 198) and perhaps further places in southern Syria, as Busruna (Bosra, EA 199); for EA 295 and 63-65 cf. N.Na'aman, *UF* 11 (1979) 673-684. They also give cross-references to other towns and areas. For a concordance of the Amarna letters cf. J.-G.Heintz, *Index documentaire d'El-Amarna*, Wiesbaden 1982.



(after collation of texts) is published by W.L.Moran (— V.Haas — G.Wilhelm), *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987.

The hieroglyphic tradition of Egypt, mostly from Karnak, includes historical inscriptions, the treaty with Hatti and topographical lists, cf. Urk.IV and K.A.Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical (= KRI)*, Oxford 1969 ff. The texts demonstrate the contact of the pharaohs of the late 18th and of the 19th and 20th dynasties with their contemporaries in Western Asia, their rule and their fighting in Syria.

- Historical inscriptions: Breasted, AR III §§ 1–21 (Urk.IV 2126 f.), cf. D.B.Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973) 36–49 (Horemheb). — Breasted, AR III §§ 80–156, cf. A.J.Spaulinger, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminary (of New York)* 1 (1979) 68 ff. and W.J.Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, Chicago 1985, 53 ff. (Seti I). — Breasted, AR III §§ 298–362, cf. A.H.Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960; F.H.Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*, Berlin — Leipzig 1922, 17–22 (Ramses II). — Breasted, AR IV §§ 59–82, cf. E.Edel, in: *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar = Bulletin d'Égypte* 97/1 (1985) 223–237 (Ramses III).

Treaty with Hatti (Ramses II, year 21): Egyptian version, Amon temple of Karnak and Ramesseum: KRI II, Oxford 1971, 225 ff., cf. Breasted, AR III §§ 415–424; A.H.Gardiner, *JEA* 6 (1920) 179 ff.; Ch.Kuentz, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 181–238; cf. the translation by E.Edel in *TUAT* I/2, 1983, 143–153.

- Topographical lists: Simons, Lists IX a; E.Edel, *Die Ortsnamenliste aus dem Totentempel Amenophis'III.*, Bonn 1966, and in: *BN* 11 (1980) 63–79 (Amenophis III). — Simons, Lists XII (Horemheb). — Simons, Lists XIII–XV, XVII (Seti I). — Jirku, *Listen* XIV, XIX, XX (Ramses II); Simons, Lists XXXIII d (Ramses III); cf. M.Görg, *BN* 11 (1980) 14–16, id., *BN* 14 (1981) 26–29.<sup>100</sup>

The archives of Hattusha (Boghazköy) have furnished a great many basic and detailed records in both Hittite and Akkadian. The reference to the pertinent edition of the textual source can only be given with the outline history (cf. below). Here the major sources may be mentioned according to CTH; in some cases they can be supplemented by evidence from Ugarit (also quoted in CTH).

- Annals of the kings of Hatti: CTH 40 (Shuppiluliuma I), 61 (Murshili II), 81 (Hattushili III), 83/84 (pertaining to the “deeds” of Shuppiluliuma I and Murshili II).<sup>101</sup>

Treaties: CTH 91 (with Ramses II), 62, 92 and 105 (with Amurru), 50 and 122 (with Karkamish), 75 (with Halab)<sup>102</sup>, 53 (with Nuhashe), 135 (with Tunip);

100 For proposals concerning the identification of Syrian toponyms in Egyptian lists cf. A.Kuschke, in: M.Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque Pontes (Fs. H.Brunner)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 254–270; Sh.Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem 1984.

101 A new treatment of the ten-year-annals of Murshili II: J.-P.Grégoire, *Hethitica* IX (1988) 17–145; cf. H.M.Kümmel, *TUAT* I/5 (1985) 471–481.

102 The fragment 21/c is now edited in KBo XXVIII 120; for the duplicate KUB XLVIII 72 cf. H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 55.

cf. also the introduction to the treaty with Shattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 51 and 52) and the additional fragments published in KBo XXVIII 111–114 (Akkadian).

Royal decrees/agreements: CTH 57 (acknowledgement of Piyashili), 61 (Barga affair).

Letters: CTH 156 (Ramses II to Hattushili III, pertaining to Syrian wars), 193 (from Benteshina of Amurru), 196 (to the king of Karkamish). For other letters with references to Syrian principalities cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2 (THeth.16), Heidelberg 1989.<sup>103</sup>

Royal prayers with historical allusions: CTH 378 (plague prayers of Murshili II), 379 (Murshili II), cf. D.Stürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht. Zu historischen Aussagen und literarischer Stellung des Textes* CTH 379 (*Studia Mediterranea* 5), Pavia 1985.

The expansion of Assyria toward the Euphrates during the period of the Middle Assyrian kingdom once again brought Syria into the geographical horizon of the Assyrian royal inscriptions, this time those of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1197),<sup>104</sup> who boasts to have crossed the Euphrates in order to raid Hittite territory.

- A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (to 1115), Toronto 1987, 128 ff. (cf. A.K.Grayson, *ARI* I, Wiesbaden 1972, 101 ff.); cf. H.D.Galter, *JCS* 40 (1988) 217–235.

Evidence of contacts with the Aegean world of the Mycenaean period is provided by archaeological material, especially pottery.<sup>105</sup> In Ugarit the presence of so-called Chypro-Minoan texts point clearly to trade connections<sup>106</sup>.

## b) *Outline history.*

### (1) **The interference of Hatti and Egypt in Syria.**

The conciliation of Egypt and Mittani, strengthened by inter-dynastic marriages, took place against the background of renewed Hittite military activities in the region

103 Cf. especially nos. 59, 176, 204, 222, 260–267, 304, 319, 334 and 380 (Amurru); 100, 213 (Halab); 5, 100, 176, 189, 195, 208, 316, cf. 297, 298 and 336 (Karkamish); 304, 328 (Niya); 204, 303, cf. 268–297 (Ugarit); 336 (Tunip); 322 (Upe/Aba).

104 Absolute dates for the reigns of Middle Assyrian kings ruling before 1134 are given according to a “reduced” chronology, cf. J.Boese – G.Wilhelm, *WZKM* 71 (1979) 19–38 and H.Freydank, *Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, Berlin 1991.

105 F.H.Stubbings, *Mycenaean pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge 1951; V.Hankey, *MUSJ* 46 (1970–1971) 9–30; this evidence has little bearing on political history, cf. M.Liverani, in: *Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo. Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica*, Taranto 1986, 405–412.

106 Cf. Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (1956) 53 ff.; O.Masson, *Ugaritica* VI (1969) 379–392.

of the upper Euphrates and north Syria. A later text from Hattusha<sup>107</sup> points to contacts between Hatti and Egypt already before the reign of Shuppiluliuma, who is considered to be the real founder of the younger Hittite empire. The exact chronological insertion of this relationship cannot be made with certainty. Chronological problems are also connected with the rich evidence of the Amarna letters, the sequence of which can be proposed only because of the contents.<sup>108</sup>

In any case, Hittite texts and Amarna letters, complemented by evidence from Ugarit, are now becoming the most prominent sources for the political history of Syria at the time when the Mittanian domination in northern Syria was replaced by that of the Hittites and when a permanent war between Hatti and Egypt was beginning, which culminated in the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh (1275). Egyptian texts regain some importance only from the reign of pharaoh Horemheb (1319–1291). This lack of hieroglyphic information from Egypt with regard to Syria during the late 18th dynasty should not be interpreted as an Egyptian disinterest in Syria – an impression which could arise when reading the letters sent by Rib-Adda of Gubla/Byblos to Egypt. Despite the literary style and the tendency of these letters,<sup>109</sup> they nevertheless offer a picture of the historical situation in central Syria as seen by the ruler of Gubla, and in comparison with other textual evidence of this period they are a valuable source for the knowledge of the history of Syria. It seems, that the Egyptian rule in southern Syria was not seriously called in question until the time when Shuppiluliuma I of Hatti decided to send his troops into the land of Amka (in the Bika'), which belonged to the Egyptian zone of Syria.

The Amarna letters pertaining to Syria are mainly concerned with events which took place in the region between the coastal cities (especially Gubla) and the plain of Homs, an area which had always been of interest for the kings of Egypt. Its northern part is called Amurru, and both the Amarna texts and the retrospective of later Hittite treaties reflect the formation of a principality exactly in this region situated between the Mittanian and the Egyptian zones. The first ruler of Amurru was Aziru, who

107 D.Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht. Zu historischen Aussagen und literarischer Stellung des Textes CTH 379*, Pavia 1985, 17 ff.

108 Cf. K.A.Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool 1962; E.F.Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1964; C.Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna (AOAT 17)*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973; W.L.Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 47 ff. – R.Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches*, Hildesheim 1978, 36 ff., proposed the equation of Niphururiya not with Tutankhamon, but with Akhenaten. This would mean that the death of Akhenaten should be considered as the end of the Amarna archives (cf. p.71 ff.). The problem is still under discussion.

109 Cf. M.Liverani, *AoF* 1 (1974) 175–205, and *id.*, *Berytus* 31 (1983) 41–56. It should also be taken into consideration, that the Egyptian king was well informed by his own officials and messengers and certainly did not rely on the reports sent by his Syrian vassals; cf. A.Schulman, *JARCE* 3 (1964) 51–69; H.Klengel, *Das Altertum* 11 (1965) 131–137.

tried to serve two lords at the same time, i.e. the pharaoh and the Hittite king.<sup>110</sup> While the result of this development is conceivable rather clearly from Hittite and Ugaritic sources, the chronological order of the details is still problematical. Nevertheless, the main stages in the changes which took place in the political scenery of northern and central Syria can be outlined with some certainty.

The Amarna letters and Hittite documents give evidence of a political polycentrism which continued during the time of foreign overlordship. The Amarna texts also refer to social conflicts, which played their part in the political history too and were partly connected with the activities of the so-called Hab/piru, a social class often mentioned in cuneiform sources.<sup>111</sup> This situation, said to have become worse according to the letters of Gubla,<sup>112</sup> certainly favoured those who tried to replace the local regents or mayors in the coastal region.

Focusing on the development of Syrian history in general, the first point should be the Hittite invasion and conquest of northern Syria during the later years of reign of Shuppiluliuma I. Before the Hittites interfered, the political situation in Syria was as follows:

— Syria was divided into two zones of political control, i.e. those of Mittani and Egypt. Within these parts of Syria, which were not separated by well-defined boundaries, a series of local rulers or rather autonomous mayors played a role on the political scene. They differed with regard to their political and economic orientation, and they were rivals in trade or eager to extend their territories. A third power could hope that Syrian resistance would be not unanimous. On the other hand, the wealth of the Syrian plains in agricultural products and the riches of the urban centres with their specialized business were of special interest for foreign powers. There were also important caravan routes and seaports connecting the Mesopotamian and Syrian centres and the Mycenaean world of the Mediterranean basin.

— In Hurri-Mittani conflicts arose with regard to the succession to the throne after the death of Shuttarna II.<sup>113</sup> For a certain time, they were settled by king Tushratta, a contemporary of Amenophis III of Egypt, but his rule was not undisputed. Thus Tushratta had to focus his efforts on the stabilization of his rule in upper Mesopotamia, the core area of his kingdom. An attack from outside could rouse the activity of those who were discontent, especially the members of the royal family and the local aristocracy.

110 Cf. GS II 264–299 and, more recently, M.Liverani, *Studia Mediterranea* 4 (in memory of F.Pintore), Pavia 1983, 93–121.

111 J.Bottéro (ed.), *Le problème des Habiru à la 4e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 12), Paris 1954; M.Greenberg, *The Hab/piru* (AOS 39), New Haven 1955; J.Bottéro, *RIA* IV/1 (1972) 14–27; M.Liverani, *VO* 2 (1979) 65–77; O.Loretz, *Habiru – Hebräer. Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums 'ibri vom Appellativum habiru*, Berlin – New York 1984.

112 A.Altman, *Bar Ilan Studies*, Ramat Gan 1978, 1–24.

113 G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 40 ff. (cf. the English edition). Shuttarna was father-in-law of Amenophis III, who married a daughter of this Mittanian king, Giluhepa, during his 10th year of reign (Urk.IV 1738).

— In Egypt, the illness and death of Amenophis III and the following rule of Amenophis IV / Akhenaten with serious internal conflicts also weakened the power of the pharaoh in his Asiatic territories. The Amarna letters could corroborate the impression that the Egyptian kings did not give enough military emphasis to their rule in Syria.

— Shuppiluliuma I fought successfully in Anatolia, thus strengthening his position north of the Taurus. He concluded treaties with rulers who could back a future campaign into a Mittanian region, after a first attack on Mittani had obviously failed.<sup>114</sup> Afterwards he was able to make his political profit from the internal Mittanian quarrels and concluded an alliance with Artatama (II), a candidate for the throne of Tushratta.

Under these conditions, Shuppiluliuma I ventured a raid into northern Syria. It seems likely that the Hittites advanced as far as Nuhashe south-west of Halab.<sup>115</sup> The so-called "one-year-campaign" of Shuppiluliuma is referred to in Amarna letters and in the historical introduction to the treaty between Shuppiluliuma and Shattiwaza of Mittani, but also in some other texts.<sup>116</sup> The Hittite army first turned to the east, to the land of Ishuwa on the upper Euphrates. Without having fought a battle he marched in a south-western direction and entered Syrian territory, where he conquered the lands of Halab and Mukish. Shuppiluliuma justifies this intervention into Syrian affairs by an appeal for help sent to him by the king of Ugarit, Niqmadu, as is explicitly stated in the later treaty with this ruler.<sup>117</sup> Itur-Addu of Mukish, Addunirari of Nuhashe and Aki-Teshup of Niya are blamed for having "rebelled" against Hatti and attacked the land of Ugarit. When Shuppiluliuma stayed at Alalakh, Niqmadu of Ugarit appeared before him and received a treaty (cf. GS II 349 ff.). The Hittite troops then marched southward to Arahati, probably to be located between Niya and Qatna, where a brother of Taku(wa) of Niya, Aki-Teshup, had gathered *maryannu*-troops and joined forces with the local ruler. The confederates were defeated and taken prisoner, and the city of Qatna was plundered by the Hittites. After the arrival of the Hittites in the plain of Homs, Aziru of Amurru, though being formally a subject of the Egyptian pharaoh, contacted Shuppiluliuma (cf. EA 165–167). Afterwards, the Hittites subdued the land of Nuhashe and installed there a

<sup>114</sup> Cf. EA 17 and already W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962) 175; K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Baltimore 1962, 24 f.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the introduction to the Shattiwaza treaty, KBo I 1 (CTH 51) obv. 3 f., and EA 75:35 ff. For the discussion concerning the separation of this campaign from the activities mentioned in the following lines of the Shattiwaza treaty cf. J. Boese – G. Wilhelm, in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 84 f. The chronology of the military deeds of Shuppiluliuma I according to a reduced date for his reign (1344–1322) is discussed by T. R. Bryce, *AnSt* 39 (1989) 19–30.

<sup>116</sup> CTH 51 (Shattiwaza treaty) and KBo I 4 and dupl. (CTH 53) I 1 ff. (Tette treaty); PRU IV 32 ff., esp. RS 17.227 and 17.340 (CTH 45–48, Niqmadu treaty); H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 84 f. (fragments 26 and 27 of the "deeds" of Shuppiluliuma, CTH 40); PRU IV 35 ff. (RS 17.132, letter of Shuppiluliuma to Niqmadu, CTH 45).

<sup>117</sup> PRU IV 35 ff. (texts pertaining to the alliance and treaty between Shuppiluliuma and Niqmadu).

certain Takipsharri as king, who replaced Sharrupshi — who possibly had been killed — or Addu-nirari. Marching southward again the Hittites advanced to the land of Abina, located south of the Homs plain and reaching as far as the oasis of Damascus.<sup>118</sup> The king of Qidshu/Qadesh, Shutatarra, and his son Aitakkama now attacked the Hittite army. In the introduction to the Shattiwaza treaty Shuppiluliuma assures that it was not his own intention to fight with the ruler of Qadesh, which seems plausible with regard to the fact that the king of Qadesh was a vassal of Egypt. The Hittites did not want to venture into open war with Egypt at a moment when Mittani was still powerful and to the rear of the Hittite troops. The hostile activities of Qadesh resulted in a deportation of the ruler and his replacement by Aitakkama; the latter was therefore considered as a traitor by the Egyptian king (EA 162). Shuppiluliuma himself avoided stepping into the territory belonging to the Egyptian zone of Syria. Continuing afterwards the march to southern Syria, i.e. into the land of Abina, Shuppiluliuma won a victory against king Ariwana and his allies. As is stated at the end of this section of the Shattiwaza treaty (obv.47), Syria north of the Lebanon (resp. the plain of modern Homs) was now in the hands of the Hittites — except Karkamish, a bridgehead of Mittanian power west of the Euphrates. Leaving a detachment of troops at Murmuriga in northern Syria,<sup>119</sup> Shuppiluliuma returned to Hatti.

The position of Hatti in Syria was still weak and had to be strengthened. Aziru of Amurru followed a repeated demand of the Egyptian court and travelled to Egypt in order to demonstrate his loyalty and to reject the accusations advanced by Rib-Adda of Gubla/Byblos. (cf. EA 169 and 170). Later on, Aziru returned to Amurru. If we trust in the text of the "Deeds" of Shuppiluliuma,<sup>120</sup> Egypt reacted to the Hittite menace by campaigning in the region of Qidshu/Qadesh, while Mittani expelled the Hittite troops from Murmuriga.

When the Hittites appeared again in Syria, they focused their efforts on Karkamish. The Hittite tradition mentions no king of Karkamish as opponent of Shuppiluliuma; it seems that a Mittanian commander organized the defence of the fortress. At the same time Hittite troops, headed by two generals of Shuppiluliuma, invaded the land of Amka, i.e. the central Biqa'.<sup>121</sup> This territory clearly belonged to

118 Cf. GS III 97. An Akkadian letter sent from Syria by a Hittite subordinate to the Great King (KBo XXVIII 77) mentions troops and the land of Aba. Perhaps this text could be connected with the time when Shuppiluliuma penetrated into southern Syria; cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2 (THeth.16), Heidelberg 1989, 433 f. (no.322). It is possible that the fragmentary treaty KBo XVI 32 (CTH 212), mentioning the Lebanon and the Hermon, reflects this extent of Hittite influence; cf. H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 47–50.

119 EA 151 and H.G.Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 92 f. — For a location in northeast Syria, not far from the Euphrates and Karkamish, cf. GS III 51 f. and 88 f., also J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 135 f.

120 H.G.Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 92 and 97 (fragment 28 II 15 ff. and IV 1 ff.).

121 H.G.Güterbock, l.c. 94 and 97 (fragment 28 III 1 ff. and IV 1 ff.), cf. H.G.Güterbock, *RHA* 66 (1960) 60 f. ad KUB XXXI 121 a II 6 ff. — For the land of Amka cf. A.Kuschke, *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981) 39–45 (northern border of A. perhaps near Baalbek, southern at ed-Dahr).

the Egyptian zone of Syria, and the Hittite action could have provoked an open war with the pharaoh. It is possible that the death of the Egyptian pharaoh, which happened shortly before, could have stimulated the Hittite attack, which was perhaps seen as a revenge for the Egyptian advance to Qadesh, the ruler of which had sworn an oath with Shuppiluliuma. The Mittanian troops which had acted against the Hittite garrison of Murmuriḡa were thrown back to the Euphrates.<sup>122</sup>

During the time when Shuppiluliuma besieged Karkamish (and after the attack against Egyptian territory) he received a message from the Egyptian queen, widow of the pharaoh who had died recently.<sup>123</sup> The queen proposed an alliance between Egypt and Hatti, to be strengthened by the marriage of her with one of the sons of Shuppiluliuma. This proposal was an acknowledgement of Hittite military power and could have opened new perspectives for the role played by the Hittites in the political scenery of the Near East. Shuppiluliuma was surprised and asked for a confirmation of this proposal. While his messenger was on the way, Shuppiluliuma succeeded in conquering Karkamish, where he installed his son Piyashili (Hurrian name: Sharri-Kushuh) as king. The kingdom of Halab was revived under the rule of another son of Shuppiluliuma, Telipinu. This success, perhaps also the knowledge of the proposal made by the Egyptian queen, caused Aziru of Amurru to manifest his loyalty toward his other overlord; it was the prelude to the vassal treaty he concluded with Shuppiluliuma (cf. GS II 288 ff.).

Syria north of the plain of Homs was now again in Hittite hands, and even Amurru and Qidshu/Qadesh could be considered as belonging to the political sphere of Hatti. The internal dynastic quarrels in the core area of Mittani, which caused the flight of Shattiwaza, son of the murdered Tushratta, to the Hittite king,<sup>124</sup> could be used by the Hittites as legitimation of their military action against Mittani. Piyashili of Karkamish and Shattiwaza successfully invaded northern Mesopotamia, and Shattiwaza became king of Mittani - and son-in-law of Shuppiluliuma, bound to the Great King by a treaty.<sup>125</sup> For the local rulers in northern and central Syria this meant the loss of a potential ally against Hittite overlordship. There remained only Egypt, which was in latent war with Hatti since the marriage project had failed and the Hittite prince destined to become pharaoh was murdered. This Hittite-Egyptian enmity lasted until the treaty of peace concluded by Hattushili III, grandson of Shuppiluliuma, and Ramses II of Egypt (1259 B.C.).

After having established Hittite rule in northern Syria, Shuppiluliuma introduced a system of control which is reflected by the texts from Ugarit and Hattusha but also

122 H.G.Güterbock, l.c. 93 (fragment 28 II 29 ff.).

123 H.G.Güterbock, l.c. 96 ff.; cf. W.Federn, JCS 14 (1960) 33; A.Schulman, JARCE 15 (1978) 43-48; R.Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, Hildesheim 1978; J.-Boese - G.Wilhelm, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 74-117.

124 For the situation cf. G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurrer*, Darmstadt 1982, 52 f.

125 CTH 51 (Shuppiluliuma - Shattiwaza) and 52 (Shattiwaza - Shuppiluliuma), both written down in Akkadian and Hittite.

some documents from Emar.<sup>126</sup> The Hittite Great King became the overlord of all rulers of this area, and he remained so for about one and a half centuries. The southern frontier of Hittite Syria depended on the loyalty of the kings of Amurru. Generally, the Egyptian area began somewhere south of the plain of Homs in inland Syria, whereas the Egyptian influence on the coast could have reached farther to the north. The connection between overlord and vassal was established personally by a treaty, formulated as an edict of the Great King confirmed by oath from the Syrian ruler.<sup>127</sup> The oath bound the Syrian rulers to the Hittite king, and it was renewed by the successors. In many – if not all – cases this submission was connected with a formal treaty, written down in Akkadian, the language of “international” communication in Syria, and in Hittite, the language of the overlord. Treaties with Ugarit received also an Ugaritic version. The texts handed down in various languages were not true translations, but made allowance for the addressee and the oration of a public reading of the treaty. Divergences between the Akkadian and the Hittite texts of the same treaty are discernible especially in the historical introductions which outlined the former relations between the partners and the political conditions which caused the agreement in question.<sup>128</sup> The Hittite king received the promise of loyalty for life, and he returned the authority lost by the vassal because of his enmity or legitimized the succession to the throne of the contracting ruler. The Hittite king promised to protect the vassal as long he remained loyal and followed the obligations of the treaty. The vassal had to give military support to his overlord against foreign enemies and internal rebels; he had also to extradite fugitives,<sup>129</sup> to denunciate conspirators, to pay a regular tribute<sup>130</sup> and to show his loyalty by sending gifts or bringing them personally to the court of the overlord. The vassal had to desist from an independent foreign policy resp. to follow the device “my friend be your friend, my enemy be your enemy”. The personal character of the treaties is demonstrated

126 GS III 230–239; cf. A.Alt, FF 25 (1949) 249–251 (“federative system”); M.Abdul-Qader Mohammed, ASAE 59 (1966) 109–142 (“provincial administration”); M. Liverani, RA 61 (1967) 1–18, and H.Klengel, in: Sh.Sha’ath (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine*, II, Aleppo 1987, 77–84.

127 For the Hittite treaties in general cf. V.Korošek, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung* (Leipzig.rechtswiss.Studien, 60), Leipzig 1931; E.von Schuler, in: *Historia, Einzelschriften* Heft 7, Wiesbaden 1964, 34–53; philological treatment and translation: E.F.Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Boghazköi-Studien 8/9), Leipzig 1923 (Akkadian treaties); J.Friedrich, MVAG 31 (1926) and 34 (1930). Further fragments of Syrian treaties were identified during the last years, cf. H.M.Kümmel, KBo XXVIII (1985). A new edition of all ancient Anatolian treaties is in preparation by G.Wilhelm.

128 As far as Syrian treaties are concerned, cf. H.Klengel, *Klio* 51 (1969) 5–14.

129 Cf. M.Liverani, RSI 77 (1965) 315–336.

130 Pertinent clauses are handed down to us only in treaties with Ugarit, Amurru and Nuhashe, i.e. the major Syrian principalities. It might be supposed that they were also part of other treaties, but possibly drawn up separately. Gold, purple, dyed stuff are mentioned as tribute. In general, not only local products but also items which were obtained by trade could be demanded as tribute.



also by the fact that they were renewed – sometimes with changes as to the stipulations – in case the vassal died or was replaced by another ruler. At the end of the treaty the divine witnesses and the solemn oath of the vassal were mentioned.

As far as Syria is concerned, treaties of Hittite kings with Ugarit (Niqmadu II, Niqmepa), Halab (Talmi-Sharruma), Nuhashe (Tette), Amurru (Aziru, Duppi-Teshup, Benteshina, Shaushga-muwa) and the city of Tunip have survived.<sup>131</sup> Partners of the Hittites are the representatives of the most important political entities in the Hittite zone during the period in question. The special role of Amurru, located at the boundary between Hittite and Egyptian Syria and controlling a trade route leading to the Syrian coast, could be reflected by the number of treaties with the rulers of this principality, although it is possible that further treaties with other vassal kingdom are lost. Some regions or towns perhaps made a special agreement with the dominant power (cf. Tunip).

Nevertheless, the system of vassal treaties was not sufficient enough for a lasting Hittite dominance in northern Syria. A permanent control was needed because of the vicinity of the Egyptians, local uprisings and the long distance between the Hittite capital and Syria. This might have been the reason why Shuppiluliuma decided to make one of his sons, Piyashili/Sharri-Kushuh, king of Karkamish. The reasons for choosing this city on the Euphrates – instead of Halab with its more central position – as place of residence of a Hittite viceroy can only be conjectured: Karkamish was not the residence of a local dynasty at this time; thus Piyashili did not replace a local ruler. The city was a stronghold which had resisted the Hittite invasion longer than other fortified towns; perhaps the Mittanian influence was stronger than in other centres and was now intended to be eliminated by the presence of a Hittite court. Karkamish was located favourably with regard to the crossing of the Euphrates by a ford, to the road to central Anatolia (without prominent political entities in between) and to the neighbouring Mittani and the buffer-state created by the Hittites soon after. The competence of the kings of Karkamish is clearly indicated by the texts from Ugarit, mostly from the time of Ini-Teshup, great-grandson of Shuppiluliuma.<sup>132</sup> As representative of the Great King, sometimes together with him, the ruler of Karkamish intervened, or was the decisive authority, in cases which affected not only Ugarit itself but other Syrian states and Hittite interests too. During the time of Hittite domination in Syria Karkamish developed into a nearly independent kingdom and even received a special treaty from king Shuppiluliuma II of Hatti (cf. CTH 122). When the “land of Karkamish” is mentioned in texts of the 13th century B.C.,

131 The Syrian partners of the Tunip treaty (CTH 135) were the people of this city, which could implicate that there was no local ruler who could swear the oath. Cf. also the *mamitu* with Emar mentioned in a text from Meskene: D.Arnaud, Emar VI/3, Paris 1986, no.18 (cf. no.19: Edict of Ini-Teshup of Karkamish).

132 GS II 373 ff.; J.D.Hawkins, RIA V/5–6 (1980) 431 ff.; cf. also M.Liverani, RSO 35 (1960) 135–147. The high rank of the kings of Karkamish in Hittite hierarchy is demonstrated also by the bronze tablet with the treaty between Tuthaliya IV of Hatti and Kurunta of Tarhuntasha, see H.Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV. (StBoT, Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden 1988, § 18.

this could point not only to the immediate territory of this city but also to all inland Syria in the north, belonging to or controlled by the kings of Karkamish.

Shuppiluliuma I not only relied on his viceroy residing in Karkamish, but he also installed another son, Telipinu, as king of Halab. Like Karkamish, this traditional centre of the north Syrian plains possessed, as it seems, no local dynasty at this time. Halab was now revived as a kingdom, ruled by a Hittite prince who was educated in Anatolia as a priest of the weather-god (Teshup) and his family (Hepat, Sharruma). This was surely not without political intentions, because Halab was the cult place of a local variant of the weather-god, who was highly venerated not only in northern Syria but was included — since the period of Hattushili I — into the official cult of the Hittite capital.<sup>133</sup> It is possible that the special function of the Hittite king of Halab was more in the ideological (religious) than the pragmatic (political) scene. While Halab was overshadowed by Karkamish politically, it played its role in the religious traditions and contributed to the maintainance of Hittite power in Syria in this field.

Beside the treaties and the vice-kingdoms messengers of the Great King or the king of Karkamish were used for the administration of Hittite Syria. It seems possible that some centres had — at least temporarily — Hittite governors.<sup>134</sup> In general, the administration had more of an additive rather than an integrative aspect and was the extension of a system of rule already exercised in Anatolia itself.

At the time of Shuppiluliuma and his Egyptian contemporaries, the Hittite and the Egyptian zones were split up into a variety of entities governed by a “king” or a “mayor”, the latter sometimes being a *primus inter pares* at the head of a city-assembly. To begin in the north, Karkamish included territories in the Euphrates valley (also the region around Emar, i.e. the land of Ashtata), whereas the north Syrian plains were dominated by Halab. The mouth of the Orontes and parts of the hinterland (Amk plain and lower Orontes valley) belonged to the territory of Mukish with Alalakh as capital. South of Mukish the land of Ugarit comprised the coastal plains and parts of the mountainous hinterland; as long as Siyannu was part of Ugarit, the kingdom of Ugarit bordered Amurru somewhere in the region of modern Tartus. East of the Orontes valley, the lands of Nuhashe and — around later Apameia — Niya were located. Qatna, once a major political force in Syria, was not of importance after Shuppiluliuma's campaigns; it possibly formed part of the Nuhashe territory. The fate of Tunip after the Hittite conquest is not clear, while Qidshu/Qadesh remained a political entity of its own. Amurru (Akkar plain and hinterland) developed as a kingdom and dominated the crucial border between the two great powers. In the Egyptian zone a number of urban centres with city-rulers or mayors is known especially from the Amarna letters, among them Gubla/Byblos, Beruta/Beirut, Siduna/Sidon, Surri/Tyre, Dimashqi/Damascus and some towns of the Hauran, as Busruna/Bosra.

The period of Syrian history from the Hittite conquest to the treaty concluded between Hattushili II and Ramses II (1259) was influenced mainly by the latent

133 H.Klengel, JCS 19 (1965) 87–93; V.Souček — J.Siegelová, ArOr 42 (1974) 39–52.

134 Cf. RS 20.03 = Ugaritica V no.26 (letter of a certain Shukur-Teshup, resident of Alalakh, to the king of Ugarit, Ammistamru II).

conflict of the two powers. Afterwards the growing influence of Assyria and the Assyrian pressure toward the Euphrates area became a factor in the political situation. During both periods the viceroys of Karkamish were in control of Hittite Syria until the situation changed fundamentally in the early 12th century B.C.

Already during the last years of Shuppiluliuma's reign or shortly after his death parts of Syria were in revolt against Hittite overlordship. The people of Nuhashe and Qidshu/Qadesh were protagonists, obviously backed by Egypt. The annals of Murshili II mention for the 2nd year (c.1320) the mission of a Hittite general to Syria in order to protect Karkamish against the Assyrian advance.<sup>135</sup> It seems that Assyria now tried to make profit from the situation in Syria and from the fact that Murshili II himself was bound to Anatolia during his early years of reign.<sup>136</sup> The king of Karkamish is mentioned again under year 7, when he returned the "man" (king?) of Nuhashe, who was taken prisoner by the Hittite army, to his own country instead of sending him to the Great King.<sup>137</sup> In order to defeat the uprising in Syria, he made an offer for alliance to the king of Ugarit, who supported the revolt at least financially.<sup>138</sup> The king of Nuhashe, Tette, broke his treaty with Shuppiluliuma (CTH 53), probably hoping that the Egyptian army would help him and that the Assyrian presence near the middle Euphrates would bind the Hittite forces there. But the Egyptian attack was repulsed; it seems that this occurred during the time when Egypt renewed its Syrian activities under Horemheb.<sup>139</sup> In the 9th year (c.1312) of Murshili II, the first viceroy of Karkamish, Piyashili/Sharri-Kushuh, died. The Syrian revolt inflamed again, and a Hittite army under the command of a general was sent to Nuhashe. In Qidshu/Qadesh the prince Niqmadu made an uprising against his father Aitakkama, killed him and submitted to the Hittites; the city itself was occupied by Hittite troops. As far as Amurru is concerned, it did not join the anti-Hittite confederacy; this is attested also by several later Amurru treaties of the Hittite

135 KUB XIV 16 I 9 ff., cf. A.Götze, MVAG 38 (1933) 26 ff.

136 This Assyrian military activity in upper Mesopotamia could have happened during the reign of Ashur-uballit I and is perhaps reflected in the inscription of Adad-nirari I: A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (to 1115), Toronto 1987, 128 ff. (cf. id., ARI I, Wiesbaden 1977, 57 ff.).

137 KUB XIV 17 II 1 ff., cf. A.Götze, MVAG 38 (1933) 82 ff. and the discussion of the historical setting by T.R.Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988) 21–28.

138 RS 17.334, cf. PRU IV 53 ff. For the date of this offer for alliance cf. H.Klengel, *OLZ* 57 (1962) 455 n.4; K.A.Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Baltimore 1962, 36 f.; GS II 358 ff.; G.del Monte, *OA* 22 (1983) 221–231.

139 A.Götze, MVAG 38 (1933) 86 f.; M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 61 ff.; GS I 75 f. — For the discussion of Horemheb's Asiatic campaigns cf. D.B.Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973) 36–49, and A.Spalinger, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminary* (of New York) 1 (1979) 56–89. Spalinger points to the fact that Murshili II and the Egyptians avoided an open confrontation. The topographical list from Karnak, 10th pylon (Simons, Lists XII) seems not to reflect a campaign as far as Ugarit and Karkamish, cf. D.B.Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973) 39.

kings (cf. GS II 206 ff.). On the other hand, Amurru had at the same time good relations with Egypt.<sup>140</sup>

The personal interference into Syrian affairs by Murshili II was caused by a new Assyrian attack which reached the eastern parts of the land of Karkamish.<sup>141</sup> It was now urgent to strengthen Hittite power in this area and to install a new viceroy in Karkamish. Murshili II marched to the Euphrates valley and arrived at the land of Ashtata (around Emar). Here he equipped a place as a fortress with a Hittite garrison<sup>142</sup> and received the personal homage of Niqmadu, the ruler of Qidshu/Qadesh. Afterwards he "set in order" the land of Karkamish by introducing a certain [ ]-Sharruma, son of Sharri-Kushuh, as king. This ruler is perhaps identical with the well-known king Shahurunuwa, whose cylinder-seal was discovered at Emar/Meskene.<sup>143</sup> In the city of Halab Talmi-Sharruma became successor of his father Telipinu; he received a treaty which was renewed by Muwattalli II later on (CTH 75). The relations with Ugarit and the new ruler of the city, Niqmepa, were settled by a new treaty,<sup>144</sup> after the separation of the land of Siyannu<sup>145</sup> and the confirmation of the northern frontier with Mukish which had been fixed by Shuppiluliuma I.<sup>146</sup> A new treaty was concluded also with Duppi-Teshup of Amurru (CTH 62), whereby the text was based upon the Aziru treaty (CTH 49). Thus the Hittite rule in northern Syria could be considered as being stabilized again.<sup>147</sup>

While Hittite sources are silent with regard to further military activities in Syria before the battle between Muwattalli II and Ramses II, Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions refer to campaigns of Seti I (c.1289–1279) in Asia.<sup>148</sup> Seti focused his efforts on the Akkar/Eleutheros plain and the region of Amurru and Qidshu/Qadesh; that he reached the city of Qadesh is indicated by the stela left by him

- 140 KUB III 14 (CTH 62, Duppi-Teshup treaty) 33 f.; Ramses II reports that the kings of Retenu sent tribute and hostages to Egypt, cf. G.Lefebvre, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 34 ff. and Ch.Kuentz *ibid.* 181 ff.
- 141 KBo IV 4 II 40, cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 116 f.
- 142 J.-Cl.Margueron, in: *La Syrie au Bronze Récent*, Paris 1982, 62, proposes to identify this fortress with the citadel excavated at Tell Faq'us 12 kms southeast of Emar.
- 143 GS I 76 ff.; G.Beyer, in: *La Syrie au Bronze Récent*, Paris 1982, 67–78.
- 144 PRU IV 84 ff., cf. GS II 362 (RS 21.53 now published as PRU VI 178); G.Kestemont, *UF* 6 (1974) 85–127; C.Kühne, *UF* 7 (1975) 239–251.
- 145 PRU IV 71 ff. (CTH 66).
- 146 PRU IV 63 ff. (CTH 64).
- 147 The inscription of a stone vessel, dating from the year 16 of Horemheb, refers to the "first victorious campaign, from Gubla as far as the land of the vile chief of Karkamish": D.B.Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973) 36–49, and *id.*, *SSEA Newsletter* 4,1, Toronto 1973, 6–23. If one does not want to equate this year of Horemheb with the year 7 of Murshili II, then a later campaign – not mentioned in the annals of the Hittite king – could be reflected. But the inscription not necessarily means a penetration into the Hittite zone of Syria.
- 148 W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 190 ff.; A.Spaulinger, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminary (of New York)* 1 (1979) 68–83; W.J.Murman, *The Road to Kadesh*, Chicago 1985, 53 ff.; cf. also Breasted, *AR III* §§ 80 ff.

there.<sup>149</sup> Another stela of Seti I was discovered at Tell esh-Shihab in the Hauran.<sup>150</sup> At Karnak, his military deeds were depicted showing the attack on Qadesh and the cutting of timber by the chiefs of the Lebanon by order of the pharaoh.<sup>151</sup> Topographical lists of Seti I mention place-names to be located in southern Syria, central Syria and in the coastal region.<sup>152</sup> It is possible that these inscriptions and pictorial records refer to several campaigns, which aimed at a strengthening of the Egyptian influence in this area.<sup>153</sup> The most important result of Seti's military efforts was the renewed homage of Amurru and Qidshu/Qadesh to the authority of the pharaoh. This change could be connected with the historical retrospective of the Shaushgamuwa treaty which points to a return of Amurru to the side of Egypt during the reign of the Hittite king Muwattalli II.<sup>154</sup> The ruler of Amurru in question was Benteshina; he obviously was impressed by the military activities of Egypt led by Seti I or by the young Ramses II. Reliefs of the time of Seti show a battle with the Hittites,<sup>155</sup> but there is no further evidence for a direct confrontation of the Hittite and the Egyptian troops, though a reaction of at least the Hittite viceroy to the Egyptian advance seems possible.<sup>156</sup>

During the early years of reign of Ramses II (1279–1212) the Egyptian-Hittite conflict, which focused on central Syria, culminated in the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh (1275 B.C.). Already in his 4th year Ramses headed his army and marched along the Syrian coast to the land of Amurru; in his 5th year he appeared again in this region.<sup>157</sup> As there is no record of a resistance of Amurru to these Egyptian actions, this could indicate that Amurru had already made an agreement with Egypt. The Egyptian presence in the crucial area of Amurru was a challenge for the Hittite power in Syria

149 M.Pézard, *Syria* 3 (1922) 108–110.

150 Porter-Moss, *Bibliography* VII 383.

151 See W.J.Murnane, *The Road to Qadesh*, Chicago 1985, 53 ff., with a historical interpretation (cf. GS II 247 n.17).

152 W.J.Murnane, *Lc.* 64; cf. Simons, *Lists* XIII, XIV, XV and XVII, where cities as Tyre, Tunip, Sumur etc. are mentioned.

153 Cf. also A.Spalinger, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminary (of New York)* 1 (1979) 83. — A relief inscription reports a victory as far as Nahrina (Breasted, AR III § 118), but this seems to be an exaggeration which follows earlier royal inscriptions of Egypt.

154 KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105) II 28 ff.; see C.Kühne — H.Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (SBOT 16), Wiesbaden 1971, 6 ff. and GS II 307 ff.

155 See W.J.Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, Chicago 1985, 91 (plates 33–36); Breasted, AR III §§ 143 ff.

156 A human figure depicted on plate 34 is designated as king of Karkamish by a hieroglyphic inscription, see W.J.Murnane (cf. above) 157 ff. The rich textual material from Western Asia does not indicate a battle between Karkamish and Egypt which could have taken place at that time.

157 Breasted, AR III §§ 298 ff., cf. A.Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960. For the chronology of Ramses'II campaigns see K.A.Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*, Warminster 1982, 240 ff.

and also a test for the loyalty of the north Syrian vassals of Hatti.<sup>158</sup> The Hittite king, Muwattalli II, therefore came to Syria, accompanied by a strong army which was augmented by troops sent by Syrian vassals, such as Karkamish, Halab, Nuhashe, Ugarit and Qidshu/Qadesh; the ruler of Qadesh had changed sides again. Other Syrian princes, among them Benteshina of Amurru, supported the Egyptian pharaoh. The march of the Egyptian army to Qadesh, the course of the battle, and connected topographical problems have already been widely discussed, although not all questions could be answered so far.<sup>159</sup> For Syria the results of the battle were decisive: The Hittites were able to advance up to the country of Ube north of Damascus,<sup>160</sup> and Benteshina of Amurru was dethroned and replaced by a certain Shapili.<sup>161</sup> Qadesh, which had been on the side of Hatti already during the battle, remained under Hittite overlordship. Thus it appears that the Hittites gained advantages from this clash with the Egyptian army.

During the following years, Ramses II was again active in Syria. If we follow the inscriptions mentioning place-names, explaining reliefs on the 1st pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak, then Ramses should have been present in the region of Amurru during his 8th year of reign.<sup>162</sup> An inscription carved into the rock at the Nahr el-Kelb north of Beirut and dating from the 10th year of Ramses II points to a visit of the pharaoh in this region which undisputedly belonged to the Egyptian area of Syria.<sup>163</sup>

The treaty of peace and "brotherhood" with Hatti was concluded in the 21st year of Ramses II (c.1259). The Hittite partner was Hattushili III, who had ascended to

158 The Hittite texts explicitly refer to Amurru (i.e. Hittite territory) as the reason for the war between Muwattalli II and Ramses II, cf. the Shaushga-muwa treaty (CTH 105), lines 34 f., and a vow of Muwattalli done before he left for Syria (KBo IX 96, CTH 590), lines 7 ff., where Amurru appears as the main adversary. For transliteration and translation see J. de Roos, *Hettitische Geloften*, Diss. Amsterdam 1984, II 286–288 and III 424–427.

159 Textual sources are available from Egypt, Hatti and Ugarit: A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960; KBo I 15+19 and dupl. (CTH 156, letter of Ramses II to Hattushili III); KUB XIX 17 and dupl. (CTH 86), perhaps also KBo XXVIII 24 (cf. GS II 215); RS 20.33 = Ugaritica V No. 20, cf. H. Cazelles, *MUSJ* 46 (1970–1971) 31–50 and P.R. Berger, *UF* 2 (1970) 285 f., A.F. Rainey, *UF* 3 (1971) 131–149 ("front line report from Amurru", to be dated after the battle of Qadesh, possibly to the years 8 or 10 of Ramses II); cf. now S. Izre'el – i. Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit*, Tel Aviv 1990. For the problems connected with the events of year 5 of Ramses II see also W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962) 208 ff.; A.F. Rainey, *UF* 5 (1973) 280–282; E. de Vaumas, *MUSJ* 46 (1970–1971) 51–61; A. Kuschke, *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 7–35; A. Kadry, *Bulletin du centenaire* 81 (Cairo 1981) 47–55; G. Fecht, *Göttinger Miszellen* 80 (1984) 22–53.

160 KUB XXI 17 (CTH 86, Armadatta) I 14 ff. and KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105, Shaushga-muwa treaty) I 37 ff.

161 KBo I 8+ (CTH 92, Benteshina treaty) lines 11 ff., etc.

162 W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962) 219 ff., cf. A.F. Rainey, *UF* 3 (1971) 147.

163 F.H. Weißbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*, Leipzig 1922, table 6; cf. also Porter-Moss, *Bibliography* VII 383 ff.

the throne after having dethroned his nephew, Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup. The Akkadian text of the treaty, the original of which was once written on a silver tablet, is handed down to us from the archives of Hattusha, while the Egyptian translation of the text is carved on stelae at Karnak and the Ramesseum.<sup>164</sup> The treaty was followed by a correspondence not only between the royal partners but also their wives; it was also strengthened by dynastic marriages which were arranged during the years 34 and 40/45 of Ramses.<sup>165</sup>

The contents of the treaty concerned the future relations, which should be determined by the mutual promise of non-aggression, guarantee of legal succession to the throne, help against enemies and rebels, extradition of fugitives and their later amnesty. For Syria this meant a strengthening of Hittite and Egyptian power and a reduction of the hope to find support from the other side during a revolt. Only one stipulation of the treaty refers directly to Syria: In case a "great" or a "village" fled from Egypt and took refuge in Amurru, then Benteshina, the king of Amurru (who was re-installed by Hattushili III), was obliged to hand them over to Hattushili, who had to extradite them to Ramses.<sup>166</sup> Amurru was perhaps inserted into the Babylonian text of the treaty by the Hittite side. Benteshina was a Hittite vassal who ruled a territory bordering on Egyptian Syria and closely connected with Egypt. The treaty thus underlined the claim of the Hittite king to be the only lord of this important region, which had been the main bone of contention between Hatti and Egypt. As it seems, the political background of the treaty was the growing power of Assyria, which had extended its influence as far as the Euphrates.<sup>167</sup> If so, this could corroborate the assumption that the Hittites took the first step towards conciliation with Egypt as it is indicated by the Egyptian version of the Babylonian text and the so-called "marriage stela", which concerns the sending of a Hittite princess into the

164 Egyptian version: K.A.Kitchen, KRI II, Oxford 1971, 225 ff.; translations: S.Langdon — A.H.Gardiner, JEA 6 (1920) 179–205; Breasted, AR III §§ 367–391; J.A.Wilson, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), ANET 1950, 199–201; E.Edel, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/2, Gütersloh 1983, 143–153 (both versions). — Babylonian text: CTH 91 (and KBo XXVIII 115), cf. E.F.Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, Leipzig 1923, 112–1233; A.Goetze, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), ANET 1950, 201–203. Furthermore: A.R.Schulman, SSEA Journal 8 (1978) 112–130; A.Spalinger, SAK 9 (1981) 299–358.

165 KBo XXVIII 1–51, cf. J.-M.Durand — E.Laroche, in: Mémorial Atatürk. Études d'Archéologie et de Philologie Anatoliennes, Paris 1982, 74 ff. (letter of Ramses II to Hattushili III, partially duplicating KUB III 63). For the sequence of events cf. K.A.Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt, Warminster 1982, esp.240 ff. A treatment of the letters sent to Egypt from Hattusha is in preparation by E.Edel.

166 Thus according to the Babylonian version, lines 49 ff. In the Egyptian version (lines 21 ff.) neither Amurru nor Benteshina are mentioned.

167 See, most recently, A.Harrak, Assyria and Hanigalbat, Hildesheim — Zürich — New York 1987. It is unclear if the campaign of the king to Araziqui (perhaps Tell el-Hajj on the Euphrates), mentioned in KAJ 249, should be connected with Shalmaneser I (information by H.Freydank).

haram of the aged Ramses II during the 34th year of his reign in order to strengthen the peace and "brotherhood" between Hatti and Egypt.<sup>168</sup>

## (2) The Syrian states, 15th to 12th centuries B.C.

The Hittite-Egyptian relations and their effects on Syria were an important factor also for the political development in this region. They strongly influenced the history of the various political entities and they determined the sequence of the local dynasties, their political orientation and their involvement in international diplomacy.

Political polycentrism, already a typical feature of Syrian history for a long time, continued during the rule of foreign overlords and was certainly favoured by them in order to maintain their rule in Syria. The textual sources of these dominating powers, i.e. of Egypt and Hatti, pertain not only to the internal affairs of Syria but furnish the basic chronological framework for the written evidence from Syrian archives. This is especially true for the northern and central parts of Syria, which belonged to the Hittite zone and were controlled by the Hittite viceroy residing in Karkamish. The outline history of the political development of Syria should therefore start with Karkamish with regard to the political domination of its kings in northern Syria and the internal events as well. The dynasty of Karkamish, in evidence in the period between c.1350 and 1180 B.C., is at the same time a chronological tool for linking the events occurring in the various Syrian principalities.

### *The major kingdoms of the north:*

#### *Karkamish.*

During the period of Mittanian rule in northern and central Syria Karkamish had served as one of the strongholds for the overlords. Names of local rulers are not mentioned in the sources available so far; therefore it had been assumed that Karkamish was governed directly by a high dignitary of the king of Mittani. When the Hittites invaded Syria during the reign of Shuppiluliuma I, Karkamish resisted them longer than any other Syrian centre; it was captured after a siege.<sup>169</sup> While the temples on the citadel were respected and remained untouched, the lower town was plundered and about 3330 inhabitants were deported to Hattusha and perhaps replaced by Anatolian people later on.

Shuppiluliuma installed one of his sons, *Piyashili* (Hurrian name: Sharri-Kushuh) as king of Karkamish. This could have occurred during the year after the death of the

168 G.Lefebvre, *ASAE* 25 (1925) 34-45 and Ch.Kuentz, *ibid.* 181-238.

169 See the "Deeds of Shuppiluliuma": H.G.Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956) 92 ff. The letter KUB XIX 20 (CTH 154) was, as it seems, sent by Shuppiluliuma I to Egypt and reflected this success in obv.line 13'E (enslavement of the whole land of Karkamish); cf. for the text now A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (THeth 15, 16), Heidelberg 1989, no.208 (pp.304-309).



Egyptian king, whose widow had written the letter to Shuppiluliuma proposing alliance and dynastic marriage between her and one of the sons of the Great King.<sup>170</sup> Sharri-Kushuh died during the 9th year of reign of Murshili II (i.e. about 1313).<sup>171</sup> He is witnessed as ruler of Karkamish for the late years of Shuppiluliuma, the short reign of Arnuwanda (II) and the first nine years of Murshili II, i.e. a period of about 15 years. He was a contemporary of Shattiwaza of Mittani, Niqmadu II of Ugarit, Telipinu of Halab and Tette of Nuhashe; indirectly he is also linked with rulers further abroad.<sup>172</sup>

The position of Sharri-Kushuh was based upon an agreement with Shuppiluliuma, not a formal treaty.<sup>173</sup> It was confirmed by Arnuwanda and/or Murshili II later on.<sup>174</sup> Sharri-Kushuh became the founder of a Hittite dynasty, which was related to the Great Kings genealogically and ruled at least for five generations until the early 12th century B.C.<sup>175</sup>

Some events of the period of Sharri-Kushuh should be mentioned: His first task, conferred upon him by his father Shuppiluliuma, was the conquest of Mittani. The military campaign was supported and thus legitimated by Shattiwaza, the son of the murdered Mittanian king Tushratta, who had fled to Shuppiluliuma. Sharri-Kushuh acted as a Hittite military commander and headed a Hittite army, which was perhaps augmented by Mittanian (and Syrian?) contingents. The result of the campaign was not only the transformation of Mittani into a state dependent on Hatti and bound by oath and treaty to the Hittite Great King,<sup>176</sup> but also the enlargement of the territory of Karkamish with towns of the land of Ashtata located east of the Euphrates.<sup>177</sup> The verdict of a non-official exchange of messengers between Shattiwaza and the "city of Piyashili" (KBo I 1 rev.24-26) points to a position of the Hittite viceroy in his residential city which was not yet strengthened enough.

During the following years Sharri-Kushuh was faced with two problems: The rebellion of Syrian vassals and the expansion of Assyria toward the Euphrates. While the Great King himself was bound to Anatolian affairs he had to rely on his viceroy of Karkamish. From this time, i.e. the short reign of Arnuwanda and the early years of Murshili II, originates a text (KBo I 28, CTH 57) which confirmed the competence of Sharri-Kushuh and gave a guarantee for himself and his heirs concerning their rule

170 For a discussion of the problem concerning the identity of this Egyptian king cf., most recently, G. Wilhelm — J.Boese, in: P.Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, 96 ff. (identification of the pharaoh with Semenkhekare).

171 Cf. the annals of Murshili II: A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 108 f.

172 *GS* I 51 ff. and 71 ff., cf. also J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5-6 (1980) 429 f.

173 *KUB* XIX 27 (CTH 50).

174 *KBo* I 28 (CTH 57), cf. O.R.Gurney, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 100 f.

175 M.Liverani, *RSO* 35 (1960) 135-147; *GS* I 51-101; J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5-6 (1980) 429-434. To the kings Sharri-Kushuh, Shahurunuwa, Ini-Teshup and Talmi-Teshup should be added Kuzi-Teshup, see D.Sürenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986) 183-190.

176 *KBo* I 1 and dupl. (CTH 51-52); cf. also *KBo* XXVIII 111-114. For the situation cf. G.Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt 1982, 52 ff.; G.M.Avetisjan, *Gosudarstvo Mitanni*, Erevan 1984, 48 ff.

177 J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 135 f.

of the "high place", i.e. the throne of Karkamish and the title of a Tuhkanti.<sup>178</sup> This treaty of the Great King with his "dear brother" Sharri-Kushuh should be seen against the political background of the time, especially the military activities of Assyria in upper Mesopotamia and the revolt of Nuhashshe, which was backed by Egypt.

Already during the 2nd year of Murshili II a Hittite general, Nuwanza, was sent to support Sharri-Kushuh against an Assyrian attack. The pertinent source refers to the fact that the general would be "opposite" the enemy on the Euphrates. This could indicate a successful campaign of the Assyrians toward this river.<sup>179</sup> In the 3rd year of Murshili II the king of Karkamish was asked — and able — to help the Great King in Anatolia.<sup>180</sup> This could imply that at that time the immediate Assyrian danger was over, at least for some time. In the 7th year of Murshili II Tette of Nuhashe, though bound by oath to the Great King (Shuppiluliuma I), revolted again. As it seems, he hoped that Egypt would support him, because Horemheb had started anew Egyptian military activities in Syria. It happened perhaps about this time that the king of Karkamish made an offer of alliance to Niqmadu II of Ugarit.<sup>181</sup> The king of Ugarit was asked to attack Tette of Nuhashe, whereby Nuhashe would be involved in war on either side. A Hittite contingent of troops under the command of Kantuzzili supported the viceroy of Karkamish. As it seems, the revolt of the king of Nuhashe was easily suppressed, because we find Sharri-Kushuh fighting against yet another enemy already in the same year.<sup>182</sup> If it was Sharri-Kushuh who is mentioned in the arbitration of Barga and the agreement with Duppi-Teshup of Amurru as king of Karkamish, is still uncertain.<sup>183</sup>

The death of Sharri-Kushuh in the year 9 of Murshili's reign occurred during a stay in Kummanni where he celebrated the feast of the goddess Hepat.<sup>184</sup> This event stimulated a new revolt in Syria, in which Nuhashe and Qidshu/Qadesh were especially active and which coincided with an Assyrian attack on the Euphrates frontier near Karkamish.<sup>185</sup> This dangerous situation demanded the personal inter-

178 For the title cf. O.R.Gurney, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 100 f. The definition of the position of Piyashili as "high place" (obv.14) finds a later counterpart in the Ulmi-Teshup treaty (KBo IV 10 obv.4f) and the text of the bronze tablet, see H.Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.*, Wiesbaden 1988.

179 KUB XIV 16 I 9 ff., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 26 ff. — According to a reduced chronology, Ashur-uballit I (1353–1318) would have been the king who was in command of this attack.

180 KUB XIV 15 II 7 ff., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 48.

181 RS.17.334 = PRU IV 53 ff., cf. GS I 53. The copy handed down to us is sealed by Ini-Teshup of Karkamish.

182 KUB XIX 30 I 20 ff.; KUB XXVI 79 IV 2 ff.; cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 90 ff.

183 KBo III 3 and dupl.(CTH 63); cf. H.Klengel, *Or* 32 (1963) 32–55. A king of Karkamish was also involved with the "silver of Ashtata", an affair at the Hittite court (KUB XIV 4, CTH 70).

184 KUB XIV 29 I 28 ff.; KBo IV 4 I 6; cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 108 f. and the reference to the death of Sharri-Kushuh in KUB XXI 16 (CTH 84) I 21 ff.

185 KBo IV 4 II 40 ff., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 110 ff.

ference of Murshili II (cf. above), resulting also in the official introduction of the successor of Sharri-Kushuh to the throne of Karkamish.

Shahurunuwa, son of Sharri-Kushuh as is also known by the inscription of his seal which was discovered at Emar/Meskene and by seals of his successor Ini-Teshup,<sup>186</sup> followed his father as viceroy. As it seems, he is identical with the [ ]-Sharruma mentioned as the new king of Karkamish installed by Murshili II during the 9th year of reign.<sup>187</sup> If the equation is correct, Shahurunuwa started his rule in the same year. His death occurred perhaps during the reign of Muwattalli II, Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup or Hattushili III (early years). Thus his reign might have lasted for more than two decades. Direct synchronisms connect him with Talmi-Sharruma of Halab, who was installed by Murshili II in the same year as Shahurunuwa, perhaps some months later.<sup>188</sup>

Like his father, Shahurunuwa was at the same time a viceroy in the Hittite parts of Syria, and it was probably him who is referred to in the Barga arbitration.<sup>189</sup> During the reign of Shahurunuwa the territory which was directly ruled by the king of Karkamish was enlarged. The coastal regions of Siyannu and Ushnatu, formerly belonging to Ugarit, were transferred to the Hittite viceroy by Murshili II. Abdi'an-ati, king of Siyannu (and Ushnatu?), became a servant of the king of Karkamish. Both regions are to be located south of Ugarit, and their territory reached to the border of Amurru. It also seems that Mukish, located north of Ugarit, was now part of the Karkamish kingdom too.<sup>190</sup> Ugarit, which was of importance for Hatti because of its economic wealth and connections in trade, was thus "embraced" by territories directly belonging to the king of Karkamish.

As Shahurunuwa's rule obviously covered the whole reign of Muwattalli II of Hatti, it was presumably him who joined his military forces with those of the Great King in the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh against Ramses II (1275 B.C.). Possibly it was also him who had to meet with a new Assyrian attack which reached the vicinity of Karkamish during the reign of Adad-nirari I.<sup>191</sup> The Mittanian buffer-state was

186 D.Beyer, in: *La Syrie au Bronze Récent*, Paris 1982, 67-78, cf. *Ugaritica* III 121 ff.

187 KBo IV 4 III 12 ff., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 124 f. For doubts cf. M.Liverani, *Or* 35 (1966) 321.

188 KBo IV 4 III 15 f., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 124 f. In the treaty concluded by Murshili II/Muwattalli II with Talmi-Sharruma (KBo I 6, CTH 75) Shahurunuwa appears as witness.

189 KBo III 3 and dupl. (CTH 63).

190 Cf. the treaty of Murshili II with Niqmepa of Ugarit (PRU IV 63 ff.), where only "people of Mukish" are mentioned, as protesting against the border-line fixed in favour of Ugarit; there is no reference to a ruler of Mukish. According to KUB XIX 27 (CTH 50) obv. 4 ff., Mukish was a neighbouring country of Karkamish already at the time of Sharri-Kushuh.

191 KAH I 5 lines 13 f., cf. A.K.Grayson, *ARI* I § 381 and. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, Toronto 1987, 131 f.

removed and territories of Karkamish located east of the Euphrates were then seized by the Assyrians.<sup>192</sup>

It was certainly this danger for the Hittite rule in Syria which contributed to the conciliation between Hatti and Egypt. The conclusion of the treaty should be placed in the period when Karkamish was already ruled by Ini-Teshup.

Ini-Teshup is the viceroy of Karkamish whose reign is witnessed sufficiently by textual sources from both Ugarit and Hattusha.<sup>193</sup> The exact year of his accession to his father's throne is not clear. There is still no direct synchronism which could link him with Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup,<sup>194</sup> and the texts which could prove him to be a contemporary of Hattushili III are under discussion as to the date of their origin. Chronological arguments especially with regard to the long duration of Shahu-runuwa's reign and the impossibility to insert a further king of Karkamish between Shahurunuwa and his son Ini-Teshup favour the assumption that Ini-Teshup came to the throne during the earlier years of Hattushili's rule as Great King. Ini-Teshup was also ruling during the reign of Tuthaliya IV and was one of the witnesses of the Kurunta treaty, handed down to us on the bronze tablet.<sup>195</sup> Direct synchronisms connect him with Ammistamru II of Ugarit, Benteshina and Shaushga-muwa of Amurru, Shapili of Siyannu, Mashduri of the Sheha-River land, Alantalli of Mira, Kurunta resp. Ulmi-Teshup of Tarhuntasha.<sup>196</sup>

During the reign of Ini-Teshup Karkamish was the leading political power in Syria. The king of Karkamish, acting as ruler of his own extended territory or as Hittite viceroy of Syria, was in direct or indirect control of all countries north of the plain of Homs. This is perhaps reflected in the title of a "Great King" given to him by

192 In a text from E/Imar (Meskene), Shahurunuwa is mentioned as overlord, which confirms the rule of Karkamish on the west bank of the Euphrates during this reign; D.Arnaud, *Emar VI/3*, Paris 1986, no.31.

193 See the compilation of the pertinent sources by J.D.Hawkins, *RIA V/5-6* (1980) 431-433; cf. also D.Arnaud, *AAAS 25* (1975) 90 and *Emar VI/3*, Paris 1986, nos.18, 177, 194, 201 and 202; *GS I* 60 ff.

194 Sons of a certain Urhi-Teshup are mentioned in a Hittite divination text, *KUB XVI 32* (CTH 582) 1.14, together with an un-named king of Karkamish (1.10), who certainly was Ini-Teshup (cf. *GS I* 67 f.).

195 H.Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.*, Wiesbaden 1988, 26 f. (IV 31, § 27). The same treaty refers to the high position of the king of Karkamish in the Hittite hierarchy (S.18 f., II 79-83, § 18).

196 Cf. *GS I* 80 f. and J.D.Hawkins, *RIA V/5-6* (1980) 431-433, furthermore the Kurunta treaty of the bronze tablet (cf. above) p.26 ff. The answer to the question whether Tili-Sharruma, "son of the king" of Karkamish, should be considered as a physical son of Ini-Teshup or not, is problematical; see J.D.Hawkins, *Lc.* 433 and A.Tsukimoto, *AcSum 6* (1984) 70. For the problem of the "son of the king" cf. F.Imparati, *Or* 44 (1975) 80-95. Tili-Sharruma is also evidenced in two documents from Ugarit (RS 18.114 and 18.28, cf. *PRU IV* 108 ff.) and a text possibly from Emar or its vicinity, see A.Tsukimoto, *Lc.* 65-74. The name of the king ruling in Karkamish is not mentioned, but could be Ini-Teshup.

Tuthaliya IV.<sup>197</sup> Egyptian inscriptions of the late 13th century B.C. designate northern Syria as "land Karkamish", thus corroborating the dominance of Karkamish in the Hittite part of Syria.<sup>198</sup> The strength of Karkamish was necessary also to meet with the Assyrian expansion. A letter of Hattushili III(?), addressed to a king of Assyria,<sup>199</sup> mentions the plundering of the territory of Karkamish by people from Turira, which could be located north-east of Karkamish and was part of Hanigalbat. Adad-nirari I himself points to his successful campaign up to the region of Karkamish,<sup>200</sup> an event which might have happened during the late years of Shalhurunuwa or the reign of Ini-Teshup. After a period when Hanigalbat was again dominated by the Hittites, Shalmaneser I (1263-1234, reduced dates) advanced successfully as far as the Euphrates river.<sup>201</sup> Mittani/Hanigalbat lastingly became part of the Assyrian sphere; Assyria and Karkamish directly faced one another. This could have been the background for a letter (KBo XVIII 48)<sup>202</sup> sent by the king of Hatti to the prince Heshni. This is certainly the same person which appears together with Ini-Teshup as a witness in the treaty between Hatti (obviously reigned by Hattushili III) and Ulmi-Teshup of Tarhuntasha.<sup>203</sup> In the so-called donation in favour of Shalhurunuwa, chief of the herdsmen, Ini-Teshup is again mentioned as a witness, together with other dignitaries of the Hittite administration.<sup>204</sup> An Akka-

197 RS 18.06+17.365 (PRU IV 137 f.), edict of king Tuthaliya IV; Ini-Teshup calls himself a "hero" as was done by the Great Kings of Hatti, see his edicts (cf. below) and M.Liverani, RSO 35 (1960) 144 f.

198 See the inscription of Ramses III from Medinet Habu (OIP VIII, Chicago 1930, I pl.46 etc., cf. GS I 69); for a new translation see E.Edel, in: *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar / Bulletin d'Égypte* 97/1, Cairo 1985, 223-237.

199 KBo I 14 (CTH 173). The addressee is still discussed: Shalmaneser I was proposed by H.Otten, *Afo Beiheft* 12 (1959) 68 n.19 and *Afo* 19 (1959-1960) 46; cf. also GS I 61. Adad-nirari I was preferred by M.B.Rowton, *JCS* 13 (1959) 3 ff. and E.Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 88. - J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5-6 (1980) 431 thinks that the letter was sent by Hattushili III to Adad-nirari I or perhaps Tuthaliya IV to Shalmaneser I. In the reduced chronology of the middle Assyrian kings (i.e. 1295-1264 instead of 1305-1273 for Adad-nirari I), now preferred by the specialists, Adad-nirari would fit better as addressee of the letter, cf. also A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 268.

200 KAH I 5.

201 KAH I 13 III 4 f., cf. A.K.Grayson, *ARI* I § 531, and: *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (to 1115), Toronto 1987, 184; GS I 63.

202 CTH 186 (add.), cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, no.5 (p.7-12). See also GS I 62 and 82; H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 57. For Heshni, attested as a contemporary of Hattushili III and Tuthaliya IV as well, cf. G.Szabó, *RIA* IV/4-5 (1975) 368 f.

203 KBo IV 10 (CTH 106) rev.29 f.; for a dating of this treaty in the period of Tuthaliya IV see now Th.P.J.van den Hout, *JCS* 41 (1989) 100-114, while arguments for an identification of Ulmi-Teshup and Kurunta and a dating of the treaty in the time of Hattushili are published by H.Klengel (*AoF* 18, 1991, 224-238) and D.Sürenhagen (forthcoming).

204 KUB XXVI 43 and dupl. (CTH 225) rev.29, cf. KUB XXVI 50 rev.22 and E.Imparati, *RHA* 32 (1974) 12 ff.

dian letter of Hattushili III to the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil II<sup>205</sup> mentions the king of Karkamish (Shahurunuwa or Ini-Teshup) in connection with merchants. The trade route between Babylonia and Hittite Anatolia ran up the Euphrates and crossed the territory of the king of Karkamish. Emar was surely an important station on this road and received special attention from both the Great King of Hatti and the king of Karkamish. Ini-Teshup, being the immediate overlord, appears also in the Emar texts, and a certain Hishmi-Teshup resided in Emar as his representative.<sup>206</sup> Ashtata, the territory around Emar, belonged directly to Karkamish; a local ruler is not known, but a city-council (i.e. elders) of Emar seems to have had the local administrative power. The responsible person was a "chief of the country" subordinated to the king of Karkamish.<sup>207</sup>

The prominence of the king of Karkamish is reflected also in epigraphic material pertaining to Egypt. A king of Karkamish – possibly Ini-Teshup – sent a messenger to Egypt on the occasion of the peace treaty signed between Hattushili III and Ramses II,<sup>208</sup> and the name of Ini-Teshup appears in hieroglyphic writing on an ostrakon discovered in the "valley of the kings" near Thebes, obviously dating back to the time of Ramses II.<sup>209</sup>

The best evidence for the activities of Ini-Teshup as viceroy of Hittite Syria is provided by the texts from Ugarit, dating to the reigns of Ammistamru II and Ibiranu.<sup>210</sup> He is acting together with the Great King, Tuthaliya IV, or alone. For the history of the kingdom of Karkamish itself this material does not contribute so much, but it confirms the high degree of autonomy which Ini-Teshup had in Syria. He installed own representatives in various centres and sent his officials to the courts of the Syrian vassals.<sup>211</sup>

205 KBo I 10 + KUB III 72 (CTH 172) rev.11, cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, no.204 (p.281–300).

206 D.Arnaud, *Emar VI/3*, Paris 1986, nos. 18, 177, 194, 201 and 202; cf. also RS 17.143 = PRU IV 217 f., where a man of Emar is mentioned who was sent by the king of Karkamish to the land of Ushnātu in connection with a lawsuit (GS I 67).

207 D.Arnaud, *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 182. The settlement once existing at Tell Fray (southern area of the Ass'ad Lake) could have served as a stronghold of Ashtata near the southern border, cf. P.Matthiae, *SMEA* 22 (1980) 35–41. For the discovery of a Hittite seal impression cf. A.Archi, *ibid.* 31 f.

208 E.Edel, *Or* 38 (1969) 177–186 (esp.p.182 ff.); cf. H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 56.

209 J.Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* (Catalogue général), Cairo 1935, I 94 no.25807, and R.D.Barnett – J.Černý, *JEA* 33 (1947) 94; A.H.Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, Oxford 1947, 132. E.Edel, *Or* 38 (1969) 185 n.1 points to the importance of the letter which was translated from Babylonian and copied (several times?) on ostraca.

210 GS I 63–67; J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980) 431–433; cf. also M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Rome 1962, 99 ff.

211 Cf. the role played by a certain Tili-Sharruma, "son" of the king of Karkamish, in documents of Ugarit: RS 18.114 = PRU IV 108, RS 17.28 = PRU IV 109 f., A.Tsukimoto, *AcSum* 6 (1984) 65–74.

It seems probable that the renewed attack of the Assyrians during the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1197)<sup>212</sup> happened when Ini-Teshup was still king of Karkamish.<sup>213</sup> Tukulti-Ninurta boasts of having removed 28800 people of the land of Hatti from beyond the Euphrates, and this event might have caused the urgent demand of the king of Karkamish for the support of the king of Ugarit, Ibiranu.<sup>214</sup> But the Assyrian campaign did not seriously touch upon the Hittite rule in Syria. The real danger came from other enemies, which appeared during the reign of the successors of Ini-Teshup.

Talmi-Teshup is indicated as being the son and successor of Ini-Teshup by his seal.<sup>215</sup> He is attested as a contemporary of Shuppiluliuma II/ Shuppiluliyama of Hatti by two treaty fragments.<sup>216</sup> It is probable that his reign also overlapped with the rule of Arnuwanda III of Hatti, who followed Tuthaliya IV on the Hittite throne. In Ugarit Ammurapi (Hammurapi) was ruling, the last king of the Late Bronze Age city.<sup>217</sup>

The important role played by Talmi-Teshup is underlined by the fact that he received a treaty making him officially a partner of the Great King on a nearly equal footing. It was also Talmi-Teshup himself who decided the affairs concerning the king of Ugarit and the Hittite princess Ehli-Nikkal, daughter of the Great King (PRU IV 208 ff., cf. below). The good relations of the king of Karkamish with the Great King of Hatti were the more necessary as Hatti itself was faced with internal troubles and the forerunners of the "Peoples of the Sea". Recent discoveries demonstrate that Talmi-Teshup was not the last king of Karkamish in the line of successors of Sharri-Kushuh; the dynasty survived that of Hattusha for at least one generation.

A seal impression from Lidar Höyük in south-east Anatolia on the eastern bank of the Euphrates (above Samsat) mentions a certain Kuzi-Teshup, son of Talmi-Teshup and king of Karkamish.<sup>218</sup> The clay bullae with the impressions of his seal inscription were found in the debris of a destruction, and it seems possible that the city of Emar was destroyed some time later. As far as Karkamish itself is concerned, little archae-

212 The date follows again the reduced chronology of the middle Assyrian kings. — For the attack of Tukulti-Ninurta I see KAH II 60 II 27–30 and 61 obv.23–25; cf. E. Weidner, AfO Beiheft 12, Graz 1959, nos. 16 and 17; A.K. Grayson, ARI I §§ 773 and 783; A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115), Toronto 1987, 272 and 275. Chronological problems and the historical background were investigated by H.D. Galter at the XXXIVe RAI, Istanbul 1987 (cf. abstracts, p. 23).

213 Cf. also the letter KBo XVIII 25, discussed by A. Hagenbuchner, Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 245–247 (no. 189). Here the kings of Assyria (Tukulti-Ninurta I) and Karkamish (Ini-Teshup?) appear in the same context.

214 RS 17.289 = PRU IV 192 (cf. GS I 66).

215 Ugaritica III 127 ff. and PRU IV 205 f. There is a Hittite hieroglyphic seal from Hattusha, where the name is perhaps to be restored as [T]almi-Teshup, see R.D. Barnett, Carchemish III, London 1952, 259 and 265 f.; GS I 68 and 96 note 85.

216 KBo XII 41 and KUB XL 37 (CTH 122, Talmi-Teshup treaty).

217 RS 17.226 and RS 17.355 = PRU IV 208 ff.; cf. also RS 20.216 = Ugaritica V no. 35, a letter from the "king" to the king of Ugarit, which may relate to the same affair.

218 D. Sörenhagen, MDOG 118 (1986) 183–190.

ological evidence was unearthed which could point to a massive destruction. If we are allowed to identify the grandfather of the Melidian king Arnuwantis, Kuzi-Teshup, "great king, hero of Karkamish", with Kuzi-Teshup, son of Talmi-Teshup, this could show a continuity of the dynasty, which bridged over the changes between the time of the Hittite empire and the Syro-Hittite states. It could mean that Kuzi-Teshup survived the collapse of the dynasty of Hattusha and that he might have been able to extend his rule as far as Malatya, taking over the title "hero" of the Great Kings and the viceroys of Karkamish.<sup>219</sup>

Another reference to Kuzi-Teshup could be given by a Hittite fragment of historical contents, KUB XXIII 29 (CTH 214). Here Kuzi-Teshup appears in an actual speech, together with the Great King and a certain Tattam[aru]<sup>220</sup>. Although the identity of this Kuzi-Teshup is not to be established, he could be considered as the crown prince of Karkamish. This could be true also for the Kuzi-Teshup mentioned in a historical fragment from the reign of Shuppiluliuma II (KUB XXI 7, CTH 126), where he appears as brother of the author of the text in question and in context with Tulpi-Sharruma, son of Tuthaliya IV. Perhaps Kuzi-Teshup was educated in Anatolia together with other royal offspring. A brother of Kuzi-Teshup was perhaps Kunti-Teshup, mentioned in a text coming from the vicinity of Emar as son of Talmi-Teshup, king of Karkamish.<sup>221</sup> The same person is certainly meant in a text from Emar, where a Kundi-Teshup is called a "prince".<sup>222</sup> It seems that this Kunt/di-Teshup was governor of Emar in the early 12th century.

### (b) *Halab.*

After the conquest of Halab by the army of Shuppiluliuma I this king made his son Telipinu ruler of the important centre in northern Syria.<sup>223</sup> The education of Telipinu as a priest of the weather-god corresponded with the importance of Halab as a cultic centre of this god who was venerated highly in both Syria and Anatolia. The title of "king" is given to Telipinu only in later texts.<sup>224</sup> Other sources mention

219 J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 38 (1988) 99-108.

220 KBo IV 10 (Ulmi-Teshup treaty) is witnessed by a Tattamaru (obv.30), but the identity with this Tattamaru is not clear. If so, this could favour a dating of the Ulmi-Teshup treaty to the late years of Tuthaliya IV.

221 A.Tsukimoto, *AcSum* 6 (1984) 70; D.Sörenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986) 189.

222 D.Arnaud, *Emar VI/3*, Paris 1986, no.267.

223 KBo I 1 (CTH 51) I 30 f. and KUB XIX 20 (CTH 154). The sources mention no stronger resistance to the Hittite attack. The Aziru treaty (KBo X 12-13, CTH 49) refers to the fact that Halab was hostile, and the Talmi-Sharruma treaty (KBo I 6: 13 ff., CTH 75) records that Halab and other Syrian centres were taken away from the king of Mittani. There is no evidence for a king of Halab at that time. The importance of Halab as a Syrian centre for the cult of the weather-god is reflected by texts on offerings to Ba'al of Halab which were discovered in Ugarit, see P.Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit*, I, Rome 1981 (RS 24.253 obv.16; 24.643 rev.26; 24.255 obv.11; 24.294 rev.7).

224 KUB XIX 9 (CTH 83) I 18; KBo VI 28 + KUB XXVI 48 (CTH 88) obv.21 (period of Hattushili III.).



him only as a priest,<sup>225</sup> which was perhaps his more important function. His rule in Halab began in the same year as that of Piyashili/Sharri-Kushuh in Karkamish and continued under the reigns of Arnuwanda and Murshili II; it was the latter who installed the successor of Telipinu, Talmi-Sharruma, during his 9th year of reign.<sup>226</sup> Local events in Halab during his government are not known; there are no documents from this site, and politically Halab was overshadowed by Karkamish.

The role played by Talmi-Sharruma was different from that of his father. He is mentioned as king of Halab in contemporary sources and received a formal treaty by Murshili II, the original of which went missing afterwards and was replaced by a tablet issued by Muwattalli II.<sup>227</sup> Among those who witnessed the treaty appears the name of Shahurunuwā of Karkamish; indirect synchronisms connect Talmi-Sharruma also with Niqmepa of Ugarit and Duppi-Teshup of Amurru.<sup>228</sup> The exact date/year for the end of Talmi-Sharruma's reign is not known. The textual material for his reign (cf. GS I 191 ff.) does not reflect the role of this ruler as a Hittite viceroy. In the treaty (rev.11 f.) it is said explicitly that Halab should not aggrandize, i.e. extend its influence at the expense of Hatti, a warning that could indicate an ongoing conflict. In the treaty with Niqmepa of Ugarit, Halab is not mentioned as a country with special connections to Hattusha.<sup>229</sup> The other documents from Ugarit refer only to the more distant Karkamish, not to Halab. Thus it seems that Talmi-Sharruma was not a powerful king, and after his death Halab was directly subordinated to the king of Karkamish.<sup>230</sup> A hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Halab calls Talmi-Sharruma king of Halab, great priest and builder of a temple for Hepa-Sharruma.<sup>231</sup> At the time of the war with Egypt and the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh troops from Halab joined the forces of Muwattalli II, and the pertinent inscriptions from Egypt confirm that the territory of Halab bordered on the region of Tunip.<sup>232</sup> But it would only be an assumption that Talmi-Sharruma was still king of Halab at that time.

A letter of Ramses II to Hattushili III concerning the battle of Qadesh gives evidence for a ruler of Halab,<sup>233</sup> and another letter addressed perhaps by Shattuara II

225 KUB XI 8(+)9 (CTH 661) V 15; KBo III 3 (CTH 63) III 27 (?; cf. GS I 191; Bo 2035/g is now edited as KBo XVI 23); for a hieroglyphic inscription from Halab see I.J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, Chicago 1939, no.2, and E.Laroche, *Syria* 33 (1956) 131 ff.

226 KBo IV 4/III 15 f., cf. A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 124 f.

227 KBo I 6 and dupl.(CTH 75); 21/c is now edited as KBo XXVIII 120.

228 RS 17.338 etc. = PRU IV 85 ff.; KBo III 3 etc.(CTH 63).

229 Cf. RS 17.349 B line 10 = PRU IV 87 f.

230 For the situation during the reign of Ammistamru II of Ugarit cf. J.Nougayrol, *PRU* IV 149 note.2.

231 I.J.Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, Chicago 1939, no.2, cf. GS I 192 and, more recently, A.Kammenhuber, *Altkeinsasiatische Sprachen*, in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I/2, 1-2, 2, Leiden 1969, 168 ff. A treatment of all hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions by J.D.Hawkins is in print.

232 A.Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960, 58; cf. J.H.Breasted, *AR* III §§ 309 and 312.

233 KBo I 15+19 and dupl.(CTH 156, cf. GS I 193). KUB XLII 103 (CTH 698) IV? 15 mentions people of the palace of Halab.

of Hanigalbat to Hattushili III or Tuthaliya IV (IBoT I 34, CTH 179) points to a certain Halpa-ziti as king(?) of this city.<sup>234</sup> His relationship with Talmi-Sharruma is not known. In any case, although Halab continued to have local governors, they obviously were subjects of the king of Karkamish and played no prominent role in the political history.<sup>235</sup>

(c) *Ugarit.*

The rich textual material from the archives of Ugarit, completed by evidence from other centres of the Late Bronze Age, makes the history of this coastal state the best known among the Syrian political entities of this time. After rather poor sources pertaining to earlier periods, the texts from the archives of Ugarit now elucidate the historical development of this city between c. 1350 and 1200 B.C.<sup>236</sup> The epigraphic material from the archives of Ugarit can be assigned with more or less certainty to the reigns of seven (or eight) kings, starting with Niqmadu II who reconstructed the palace (and founded new archives). His father, Ammistamru I,<sup>237</sup> is not represented by his own documents, but there is some evidence from later texts and from the Amarna letters (cf. GS II 340 f.). That he was not the founder of a new dynasty is indicated also by the fact that Niqmadu II used the "dynastic seal" of king Yaqarum, who ruled during the Old Syrian period and is attested by the Ugarit king list.<sup>238</sup> The father of Ammistamru I is not mentioned in the texts, except the Niqmadu of the Amarna letter EA 49 could be placed before Ammistamru and considered as his father.<sup>239</sup> Ammistamru himself was a contemporary of Niqmepa, probably one of the sons of Abdi'ashirta and brother of Aziru of Amurru (RS 19.68 = PRU IV 284 ff.). The letter of Ammistamru EA 45 was perhaps addressed to Amenophis III or IV of Egypt.

The texts pertaining to the time of Ammistamru I demonstrate a strong Egyptian

234 A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 313–315 (no.213). The Halpa-ziti of the fragment KBo XVIII 80 (CTH 209, cf. Hagenbuchner, l.c.474 no.391) should not necessarily be identified with the king of Halab, cf. H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 58.

235 The reference to Halab in a topographical list of Ramses III (Simons, *Lists XXVII* 6, *Medinet Habu*) gives no testimony for the role of Halab as a leading centre of northern Syria because it may be borrowed from earlier lists.

236 M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962; GS II 340–421; M.Liverani, in: *Suppl.Dict.de la Bible IX*, Paris 1979, 1295–1348.

237 The numbering of the kings of Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age does not always take into consideration the earlier homonymous kings whose sequence is discussed by K.A.Kitchen, *UF* 9 (1977) 131–142.

238 RS 24.257, cf. K.A.Kitchen, *UF* 9 (1977) 138 f. For the "dynastic seal" see J.Nougayrol, *PRU III* p.XLIII.

239 M.Liverani, in: *Suppl.Dict.de la Bible IX*, Paris 1979, 1298, supposes that Niqmadu I reigned during the period of the Amarna letters and that it was at his time when Ugarit's palace and archives burnt down as it is mentioned in EA 151; cf. also GS II 356 f.

influence on the Syrian city.<sup>240</sup> On the other hand, a retrospective document from the time of Niqmadu II maintains that the forefathers of this king were friends of the kings of Hatti (cf. PRU IV 35 ff.). Problems arose between Ugarit and the sons of Abdi'ashirta; according to the oath between Niqmadu II and Aziru of Amurru (RS 19.68 = PRU IV 284 ff.) there were quarrels between Ammistamru of Ugarit and Niqmepa(?), perhaps brother of Aziru. As it seems, territory of Ugarit (Siyannu?) was touched by the military activities of Abdi'ashirta and his sons, which are recorded in the Amarna letters. It is possible that this Niqmepa(?) was campaigning north of the Akkar plain.

Niqmadu II is the first ruler who is represented by his own documents in the archives of the city. He considered himself as belonging to the long chain of kings of Ugarit whose names are recorded in the king list, and he made use of a "dynastic seal" (cf. above). The textual sources of his reign (cf. GS II 343-347) show him as a contemporary of Shuppiluliuma of Hatti, Sharri-Kushuh of Karkamish, Aziru of Amurru, Adad/Addu-nirari and Tette of Nuhashe, Itur-Addu of Mukish, Aki-Teshup of Niya, and Abdihepa of Siyannu.<sup>241</sup> As far as the kings of Egypt are concerned, there is no direct synchronism so far which could decide between Amenophis III and IV; the change on the throne of Egypt should have occurred during the reign of Niqmadu. A "marriage vase" of Niqmadu with an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription does not mention the name of the pharaoh concerned. So it is left open whether the vase was produced during the later years of Amenophis III or the early years of his successor.<sup>242</sup> Thus the date of the beginning of the reign of Niqmadu II remains uncertain, but it should be placed before the "one-year-campaign" of Shuppiluliuma I, recorded in the introduction of the Shattiwaza treaty and reflected by some Amarna letters (cf. above). His reign ended during the rule of Murshili II, who installed Niqmepa as king of Ugarit about his 9th year of reign and made a treaty with him. Niqmepa's rule was preceded by a short rule of his brother Arhalba, who might have ascended to the throne about the years 7 or 8 of Murshili II.<sup>243</sup> This would mean that Niqmadu II was also a contemporary of the successors of

240 EA 45-47. An alphabetic text from Ugarit (RS 18.113A = PRU V no.8, cf. KTU 2.42 and 2.43) points to commercial contacts between Ugarit and Alashiya/Cyprus, see A.B.Knapp, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983) 38-45, who considers the king of Ugarit - not Amenophis III - as recipient of goods from Cyprus.

241 RS 17.227 and dupl. = PRU IV 40 ff.; RS 17.132 = PRU IV 135 ff. (Shuppiluliuma); RS 17.334 = PRU IV 53 ff. (Sharri-Kushuh); RS 19.68 = PRU IV 284 ff. (Aziru and Abdihepa); RS 17.340 = PRU IV 48 ff. and RS 17.334 = PRU IV 53 ff. (Addu-nirari etc.).

242 K.A.Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool 1962, 40: Amenophis III year 36, but cf. also CLF-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III 164 ff.; M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 30 f.; GS II 344 f. Sherds discovered in Ugarit bear the names of Amenophis IV and his wife, cf. *Ugaritica* III fig.120. In any case, the vase should be dated into the time before Niqmadu concluded the treaty with Shuppiluliuma of Hatti.

243 Cf. G.F.del Monte, *OA* 22 (1983) 221. As an absolute date 1315/1314 B.C. seems possible.

Amenophis IV, as Semenkhkare, Tutankhamun, Ay and perhaps Horemheb, albeit making his reign rather long.<sup>244</sup> It would likewise make Niqmadu a contemporary of the rulers mentioned in the letters from Amarna, which end about year 3 of Tutankhamun when the residence of Akhetaten was abandoned.<sup>245</sup>

Among the documents belonging or pertaining to the reign of Niqmadu II the treaty with Shuppiluliuma I of Hatti is of special importance. Chronologically, the conciliation with Aziru should be placed before this treaty.<sup>246</sup> At this time the position of Aziru was already strengthened enough to be expressed by the title of a "king" of Amurru, while the Amarna letters refrain from calling him so. From a historical point of view, the time after all Syrian centres between Gubla and Ugarit had fallen to Aziru — at least according to a letter of Rib-Adda (EA 98) — could agree with the situation just before the oath with Aziru was sworn. The king of Ugarit was interested in saving his southern territories (Siyannu) and to protect his trade connections. He was therefore ready to pay a sum of 5000 (shekels) of silver to Aziru. The latter promised to support Ugarit against enemies.<sup>247</sup> The texts referring to the relationship of Hatti and Ugarit<sup>248</sup> record the hostile actions of Itur-Addu of Mukish, Addu-nirari of Nuhashe and Aki-Teshup of Niya against Ugarit, i.e. Ugarit had enemies in the north (Mukish), northeast (Nuhashe) and east (Niya, in RS 17.227 obviously included among the "kings" of Nuhashe), which tried to press Ugarit into an anti-Hittite coalition.<sup>249</sup> Shuppiluliuma offered alliance to Niqmadu (RS 17.132 = PRU IV 35 ff.) with reference to the war initiated by the Syrian neighbours of Ugarit and to the good relations between Hatti and Ugarit during the reigns of the predecessors of Niqmadu. Ugarit was asked to attack Mukish and Nuhashe (including Niya) and was promised it would receive all prisoners and fugitives, and furthermore all territories conquered during the war. A treaty with Ugarit was announced;

244 The discussion of chronological problems of the Late Bronze Age, especially the lowering of absolute dates for Hittite and Syrian rulers of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., is still going on; cf. G. Wilhelm — J. Boese, in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, I 74–117. According to these authors, Shuppiluliuma ascended to the throne about the middle of the reign of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten. This would imply a new appraisal also of the absolute chronology of the kings of Ugarit.

245 For this date cf. W.L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 47 ff.

246 M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 36 f., and *Suppl. Dict. de la Bible* IX (1979) 1303 f.; GS II 348.

247 The treaty includes the territory of Siyannu, located south of Ugarit. This points to the subordination of this region, albeit under its own ruler, to Niqmadu II. The section concerning the support Aziru should give to Ugarit in case of an enmity of a certain Zizaruwa is partly broken. Zizaruwa was a vassal of Ugarit and ruled a territory close to Amurru. His name sounds like that of the town Zinzaru (Sheizar), but it remains uncertain whether he really derived his name from this place on the Orontes or not.

248 RS 17.132 = PRU IV 35 ff. (letter of Shuppiluliuma to Niqmadu); RS 17.227, 17.340 etc. = PRU IV 40 ff. (treaty); cf. CTH 45–48.

249 See the introduction to the treaty Shuppiluliuma — Niqmadu, esp. RS 17.340 = PRU IV 48 ff. The hostility of the northern and eastern neighbours might have caused Ugarit to establish better relations with Amurru in the south.

although a vassal treaty was intended, this was — from the Hittite point of view — certainly a favour. The king of Ugarit obviously postponed his decision, but after an attack on the territory of Ugarit by the neighbouring states he asked the Hittite king for help (cf. RS 17.340:9 ff.). Shuppiluliuma succeeded in driving back the Syrian enemies of Ugarit and made booty which was handed over demonstratively to the king of Ugarit.

It is of interest that Shuppiluliuma himself did not set foot upon the soil of the kingdom of Ugarit, perhaps because of the close relations which linked the coastal centre with Egypt.<sup>250</sup> The place where Shuppiluliuma and Niqmadu met personally was Alalakh, the centre of the principality of Mukish north of Ugarit. If it was Niqmadu II who addressed several letters to his mother from a stay outside Ugarit, these could fit into the situation just before the meeting with the king of Hatti.<sup>251</sup>

The treaty between Shuppiluliuma and Niqmadu was concluded some time after this personal meeting. It concerned, as far as the text is handed down to us,<sup>252</sup> the delivery of a tribute comprising gold, garments and wool,<sup>253</sup> the treatment of refugees who were not extradited to the Hittite king,<sup>254</sup> and the northern frontier (i.e. towards Mukish) which was fixed by referring to a number of topographical names.<sup>255</sup> As far as these places are to be located the new frontier ran along a line

250 The exact chronological place of EA 49, a letter sent by Niqmadu to Egypt, and of the Ugaritic letter, addressed to the pharaoh by a king of Ugarit (RS 16.117 = PRU II no. 18, cf. KTU 2.23 and GS II 346 ff.); is still uncertain. Both texts demonstrate the close political ties between Ugarit and Egypt and the subordination of the king of Ugarit to his Egyptian "lord". This does not necessarily mean that Ugarit was under Egyptian domination, cf. A. Altman, *Bar Ilan* 13 (1976) 1–16 (IX–XI), and cannot serve as an argument in favour of a date earlier than the treaty between Niqmadu and Shuppiluliuma.

251 RS 16.379 = PRU II p. XVIII and no. 13; RS 11.872 = KTU 2.13. For a discussion of the situation cf. GS II 346 and E. Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 87–91, also P. Bordreuil, *Semítica* 32 (1982) 5–9 and Berytus 31 (1983) 75–78 (ad KTU 2.14, RS 11.875).

252 M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, *WO III/3* (1966) 206–245; cf. GS II 343 and 352, also E. von Schuler, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT I/2*, Gütersloh 1983, 131–134.

253 RS 17.227 and dupl., RS 11.772. The amount of gold (12 minas and 20 shekels, plus a golden vase weighting 1 mina) is high if compared with the tribute in gold fixed in the Aziru treaty (300 shekels), but included the territory of Siyannu (and Ushnattu) which constituted about 1/3 of the kingdom of Ugarit. For the weight system cf. A. Archi, in: C. H. Gordon — G. A. Rendsburg — N. H. Winter (eds.), *Eblaitica. Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaitic Language*, Winona Lake 1987, 47–89. — That Ugarit was considered a rich kingdom is also reflected in EA 89:48 ff., where it is compared with Tyre. An Ugaritic text with an Akkadian summary, RS 19.17 (KTU 4.610), mentions 80 settlements which had to pay — according to their number of inhabitants and their efficiency — between 13 and 150 shekels as "tribute to the Sun", i.e. the Great King, as the title "Sun" is not evidenced for the king of Ugarit. The text could point to the system for the levy of tribute; cf. Cl. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV* (1962) 73.

254 RS 17.369A = PRU IV 52, obviously belonging to RS 17.340.

255 RS 17.340 (time of Niqmadu II); RS 17.237, 17.62, 17.339A, 17.366 = PRU IV 63 ff., cf. GS II 353 ff.

from about modern Idlib to the Rudj and Jis esh-Shoghr - Bdama - Urdu(?) - Badrusiya. The Mediterranean Sea was reached somewhere near the southern slope of the Jebel al-Akra.<sup>256</sup> In the east, Niya on the middle Orontes valley was an autonomous neighbour, while in the south Ugarit (with Siyannu and Ushnatu) bordered on the land of Amurru somewhere north of Tartus.<sup>257</sup> It seems remarkable that Ugarit is not asked to send auxiliary troops in case Hatti (or Hittite Syrian territory) was menaced by an enemy. Probably Ugarit was not an important military power and Hatti was content with the rather high amount of gold which could be used also for a payment of soldiers.<sup>258</sup> The treaty, as far we can see, includes no guarantee given by Hatti with respect to a legitimate succession to the throne of Ugarit and does not explicitly demand fidelity toward the Great King.<sup>259</sup>

A later source of special interest for the political history of Ugarit is the proposal of alliance addressed to Niqmadu II by Sharri-Kushuh/Piyashili of Karkamish.<sup>260</sup> This document should be seen against the background of the Syrian rebellion during the early years of Murshili II: In the 7th year of Murshili's reign the king Tette of Nuhashe broke the treaty with Hatti and revolted against his overlord. The dangerous situation for Hittite rule in Syria was aggravated by possible Egyptian support for the rebels. It is not known whether Ugarit responded positively to the proposal of the Hittite viceroy, but it seems that Niqmadu II observed a neutral position and that Ugarit was punished for this inactivity by Murshili II later on, when he concluded the treaty with Niqmepa.

The successor of Niqmadu II was his son Arhalba; the Hurrian name of this king should not necessarily have a special importance within the line of West-Semitic names of rulers of Ugarit. The filiation is mentioned in some juridical texts belonging to his reign (GS II 359) which also bear the "dynastic seal". His rule should have started about the year 7/8 of Murshili II (or earlier, in case the proposal for alliance to Niqmadu II was made earlier too) and ended during the 9th year of

256 J.Nougayrol, PRU IV 15; cf. also GS II 354. As it was already proposed in GS II 410 note 39 and III 34 f., Mount Nana/Nanni, mentioned together with Mount Hazzi, should be identified with the Anti-Casius (Kara Duran), cf. now also P.Bordreuil, Syria 66 (1989) 263-274.

257 For the geographical situation cf. the map in M.Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, Società, Economia*, Rome - Bari 1988, 559; cf. also M.C.Astour, UF 11 (1979) 13-28 and 13 (1981) 1-11 (map with tentative locations p.12).

258 Cf. RS 17.59 = PRU IV 149 ff., time of Ammistamru II and Tuthaliya IV of Hatti.

259 This could be seen in view of the close relations which connected Ugarit and Egypt, but it should be taken into consideration that the text of the treaty is not a fully developed vassal treaty as, e.g., it was the treaty of Niqmepa later on.

260 RS 17.334 = PRU IV 53 ff., cf. GS I 53 and II 357. This document, handed down to us as a copy from the time of Ini-Teshup of Karkamish, can be connected with the rebellion in Syria which took place during the early years of Murshili II, especially year 7, when the king Tette of Nuhashe broke the treaty with Hatti and revolted against his overlord. Cf. perhaps KBo XVI 39 (CTH 215), where Ugarit is mentioned in context with a rebellion.

Murshili II, when his brother Niqmepa came to the throne of Ugarit. It is possible,<sup>261</sup> that Arhalba was forced to leave the throne to his brother at the time when the Syrian rebellion was crushed by the Hittites. Murshili II mentions in this connection that he "returned" Niqmepa to the throne of his father. Taken verbally, this could imply a tension between the brothers possibly because of a different view of the political situation.<sup>262</sup> Documents demonstrating a "foreign policy" of Arhalba are not known. The outcome of the rather short reign of Arhalba, exercised during a difficult political situation, was negative. This becomes clear from the textual sources pertaining to the reign of his successor, Niqmepa.

Niqmepa/Niqmi'epuh became king of Ugarit during the 9th year of reign of king Murshili II of Hatti, and he ruled also at the time of Muwattalli II, Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup and Hattushili III. This could indicate that he was rather young when he ascended to the throne. Although the texts pertaining to his reign<sup>263</sup> are abundant, they provide only few direct synchronisms. Beside Murshili II and Hattushili III, the overlords of Niqmepa, only Abdi'anati of Siyannu and Benteshina of Amurru are witnessed as ruling contemporaries.<sup>264</sup> As far as Karkamish is concerned, it was reigned by Shahurunuwa and – during the late years of Niqmepa – by Ini-Teshup.

From the archives of Ugarit stem several tablets belonging to the treaty which was concluded between Murshili II and Niqmepa.<sup>265</sup> Contrary to the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I and Niqmadu II (cf. above), this was a formal vassal treaty, i.e. was formulated according to other treaties of this time.<sup>266</sup> The treaty was concluded on the occasion of the installation of Niqmepa as king of Ugarit by Murshili II, which was accompanied by a conciliation of Niqmepa with his "brothers".<sup>267</sup> Niqmepa was bound to be loyal toward the Great King, the land of Hatti and the sons of the Great King. He had to appear regularly – or when he was asked to do so – before the

261 A document regarded as a kind of "last will" of Arhalba, RS 16.144 = PRU III 76, was already discussed as to its political importance, cf. M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 64 ff., and GS II 412 note 64. But neither the date nor the intention of the text can be elucidated convincingly at present.

262 RS 17.338 = PRU IV 85; RS 17.353 = PRU IV 88.

263 Cf. GS II 361–364; for epithets of this king see the Ugaritic text RS 15.117 = PRU II no. 7 (KTU 7.63). – It is difficult to decide if the sender of the fragmentary Hittite(!) letter KBo XVIII 52 to the Great King was a king of Ugarit, as A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 397 f. (no. 303) suggests.

264 RS 17.335 = PRU IV 71 ff. (Abdi'anati), RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180 (Benteshina).

265 PRU IV 85 ff., cf. GS II 362 (RS 17.338 etc.) and CTH 66. For treatments cf. G. Kestemont, UF 6 (1974) 85–127; C. Kühne, UF 7 (1975) 239–251. About the same time Murshili II concluded two other Syrian treaties – with Talmi-Sharruma of Halab (CTH 75; the treaty was renewed by Muwattalli II) and Duppi-Teshup of Amurru (CTH 62).

266 J. Nougayrol, PRU IV 84: "traité en forme"; cf. G. Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie occidentale (1600–1200 av. J.C.)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1974, 465 ff.

267 G. Kestemont, UF 6 (1974) 95, prefers a translation as "pairs", which means the members of the royal house or aristocracy, but excludes an allusion to tribal connections.

overlord. In case of a war or a rebellion he had to support the Great King without hesitation. Fugitives had to be extradited and hostile persons or plans should be denounced to the authorities of the Great King.

A tribute is not mentioned on the tablets of the treaty handed down to us so far. But that there was a pertinent regulation could be indicated by a text concerning the reduction of the tribute,<sup>268</sup> for which an earlier stipulation should have served as point of reference. The reason for this reduction was the separation of the territory of Siyannu (and Ushnatu) from the kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>269</sup> As is told on the relevant tablets, Abdi'anati of Siyannu changed sides from Niqmepa to the king of Karkamish, and this was acknowledged by Murshili II. Siyannu came under the direct control of Karkamish. The king of Karkamish, the Hittite viceroy, then possessed territories bordering on the Mediterranean Sea south of Ugarit. This was in favour of the Hittites and their position in Syria, and the reduction of the territory of the king of Ugarit to 2/3 of the former extension<sup>270</sup> was perhaps a revenge for the behaviour of the king of Ugarit during the Syrian revolt. The text concerning the reduction of the tribute points to a separation not only of Siyannu but also of Ushnatu and its villages, while in the text pertaining to the separation itself Ushnatu is not mentioned as an entity. A king of Ushnatu does not appear, whereas Abdi'anati is referred to as king of Siyannu. In a later letter sent by the king of Karkamish to the king of Ugarit the latter is reminded not to threaten the integrity of the frontier of Ushnatu, a fact which could imply that Ushnatu bordered directly on the territory of Ugarit.<sup>271</sup> Other texts mention a certain Ar(i)-Teshup as king of both Siyannu and Ushnatu.<sup>272</sup> Therefore it seems justified to consider Ushnatu not as a separate political entity but as a part of the kingdom of Siyannu, perhaps already at the time of Murshili II and Niqmepa.<sup>273</sup> The exact course of the new frontier between Ugarit and Siyannu/Ushnatu is not known, but the territory of Ugarit obviously extended to a fictitious line which reached the sea near Gibala (Jebel). After the separation of Siyannu Niqmepa seems

268 RS 17.382+380 = PRU IV 80 ff.

269 RS 17.335 and dupl./parallels = PRU IV 71 ff.; cf. the discussion referred to in GS II 412 notes 69 and 70.

270 RS 17.382+380 = PRU IV 80 ff., obv.23. For an interpretation cf. M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 72.

271 RS 20.174A = Ugaritica V no.25.

272 RS 17.83 and 17.143 = PRU IV 216 ff.; RS 19.81 = PRU IV 291; cf. also Ugaritica V nos.41–44. For Siyannu see M.C.Astour, UF 11 (1979) 13–28.

273 The location of Siyannu and Ushnatu, i.e. of the name-giving towns, is still discussed; cf. already M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 75 f. (with previous literature) and GS III 6 f. For Siyannu the equation with Siyanu, as proposed by E.Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, 58, seems most probable. For Ushnatu the region of the Arab el-Mulk, perhaps the Tell Daruk, would agree with the inscriptional tradition, cf. E.Oldenburg – J.Rohweder, *The Excavations at Tall Daruk (Usnu?) and 'Arab al-Mulk (Paltos)*, Copenhagen 1981, also M.C.Astour, UF 11 (1979) 13–28.



to have asked for a reduction of the tribute which was granted to him by the overlord.<sup>274</sup>

Another text of the reign of Niqmepa, perhaps dating from the early years of his rule, concerns the northern frontier of Ugarit. The people of Mukish (i.e.: not a king) claimed a revision of the border once fixed by Shuppiluliuma in favour of Niqmadu II. They hoped that the role played by Ugarit during the Syrian rebellion could be used as an argument against this frontier. Niqmepa informed his overlord and asked him to confirm the border-line drawn by his father Shuppiluliuma. Murshili II decided in favour of Ugarit and repeated "for ever" the fixed points of the northern frontier of Ugarit.

During his later years Niqmepa continued to be a faithful vassal of the Hittite kings, although the economic ties with Egypt were maintained.<sup>275</sup> This does not contradict the fact that at the time of the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh troops from Ugarit were among the Hittite auxiliaries.<sup>276</sup>

A letter sent by a king of Amurru, obviously Shaushga-muwa, to Ammistamru II of Ugarit refers to the relations between the father of the addressee (Niqmepa) and Benteshina of Amurru.<sup>277</sup> The king of Amurru was able to mediate between the king of Ugarit and the hostile Umman Manda people.<sup>278</sup> As it seems, the relations between Ugarit and Amurru were "normal", at least during the second period of reign of Benteshina; during the time of Niqmepa a daughter of Benteshina was married to Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa (cf. below). If this positive contact is accepted, then the letter of a military commander stationed in Amurru which was addressed to the king of Ugarit should be placed chronologically before the letter of Shaushga-muwa (cf. above); the addressee was certainly Niqmepa.<sup>279</sup> Contacts with

274 RS 17.382+380 = PRU IV 82 f., lines 50 ff.; GS II 368. According to this text, the king of Ugarit was not obliged to make further deliveries beside the amounts fixed for the court of Hattusha (i.e. the royal family and some dignitaries). He should also be free to decide whether to give a present to Hittite messengers arriving at Ugarit or not.

275 See, e.g., a hieroglyphic inscription, possibly from the time of Seti I, which was discovered in Ugarit: J. Vandier, in: Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Ugaritica IV*, Paris 1962, 133 ff. For the presence of merchants from Egypt cf. already M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit* (cf. above) 141 f.

276 See the Egyptian report and the "poem" about this battle: A.H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960 (cf. GS II 363); for the "poem" see now G. Fecht, *SAK 11* (1984) 281-333.

277 RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180. Ugarit is mentioned in a broken context together with Benteshina also in RS 17.406 = PRU IV 181.

278 For this people, who appear in cuneiform sources since the Old Babylonian period, cf. the literature mentioned in GS II 414 note 85 and G. Komoróczy, *AcAn 25* (1977) 43-67.

279 RS 20.33 = *Ugaritica V* no. 20. The text was first interpreted as a "front line report from Amurru", written at the time of the battle of Qadesh. Now a date about Ramses II years 8 or 10 or within the Amarna period is preferred. For discussion cf. H. Cazelles, *MUSJ 46* (1970-1971) 31-50; P.R. Berger, *UF 2* (1970) 285 f.; A.F. Rainey, *UF 3* (1971) 131-149; M. Heltzer, *RA 67* (1973) 164, and, most recently, S. Izre'el - I. Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit*, Tel Aviv 1990 (Amarna period).

Qidshu/Qadesh could be reflected in some letters coming from this city and kept in the archives of Ugarit; an exact date for them is not yet possible.<sup>280</sup>

From the time when Hatti was already ruled by Hattushili III stems a decree of the Great King concerning the merchants of Ura. The contents of this decree was communicated to Niqmepa in a letter sent by Hattushili III himself and sealed also by his wife, Puduhepa.<sup>281</sup> The text throws some light on both the relations between the king of Ugarit and his Hittite overlord and the tradesmen from the Cilician town of Ura which was located on or near the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>282</sup> As is demonstrated by the text, the merchants of Ura acted also as agents for the Great King of Hatti; they shipped goods from Ugarit to Ura and organized the transport of them across the Taurus to the Hittite core area. The investments made by the merchants of Ura in the city of Ugarit and its territory seemed to have contributed to social tensions which also affected the interests of the crown. Real estate came into the hands of foreigners, citizens of Ugarit fell into economic dependancy upon them. Niqmepa of Ugarit therefore complained of this situation to the Great King in Hattusha, who sent the letter-decree to his Syrian vassal, which was a compromise with some favours for the royal merchants: The businessmen of Ura were allowed to make their trade during the (favourable) summer months,<sup>283</sup> but were forbidden to buy houses or other immovables or to take houses and real estate from debtors who were not able to refund the money. But the debtor himself and his family could be taken into the service by the creditor.

Trade affairs, especially the problem of the security of roads and people are the concern of further documents which could be assigned to the time of Niqmepa with more or less certainty. They deal with the responsibilities in case merchants were killed on the territory of Ugarit<sup>284</sup> and corroborate the importance which the

280 A.R. Millard, AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 202. As the name is now to be read Niqmadu/Niqmadda instead of Ar(i)-Teshup, a further ruler bearing this common name is attested. For a fragmentary, not datable letter from Qadesh to Ugarit see D. Arnaud, Syria 59 (1982) 221, for a new discussion of RS 17.315 = PRU IV 111, addressed by a Niqmadu (J. Nougayrol, PRU IV 111 note 1: "roi du voisinage") to Niqmepa of Ugarit cf. É. Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 81.

281 RS 17.130 and dupl., 17.461 and 18.03 = PRU IV 102 ff.

282 Cf. G. F. del Monte – J. Tischler, RGTC 6, Wiesbaden 1978, 457 f. Note that another Ura was a town in Siyannu: RS 19.41 = PRU VI no. 78, cf. also GS III 82.

283 For the summer (July to September) as the only safe voyaging time in the eastern Mediterranean cf. D. E. McCaslin, Stone Anchors in Antiquity's Coastal Settlements and Maritime Trade-routes in the Eastern Mediterranean ca 1600–1050 B.C., Göteborg 1980 (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, LXI) 88 f.

284 RS 17.229 = PRU 106; RS 17.369B+ = PRU IV 239 f.; cf. a letter to Kadashman-Enlil II of Babylon sent by Hattushili III: KBo I 10 + KUB III 72 (CTH 172), where the Hittite king quotes a complaint of the Kassite king concerning the killing of Babylonian merchants in Ugarit and in Amurru (cf. A. Hagenbuchner, Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 281–300 [no. 204]). See the texts referred to in GS II 413 n. 84 and H. Klengel, in: B. Alster (ed.), Death in Mesopotamia, Copenhagen 1980 (Mesopotamia, 8) 189–197.

kingdom of Ugarit had within the Hittite empire. Another topic is touched upon in an edict of Hattushili III pertaining to fugitives; the text dates perhaps back to the reign of Niqmepa.<sup>285</sup> In case that "free citizens", "servants of the king" or "servants of a servant of the king" would try to join the "Habiru of the Sun", probably a military troop of socially uprooted elements now in the service of the Hittite king,<sup>286</sup> they will be taken prisoners and extradited to the king of Ugarit.

If several texts, especially letters from the archives of Ugarit could be assigned to Ammistamru when he was still a royal prince,<sup>287</sup> they would also belong to the reign of Niqmepa. But an Ugaritic letter of a queen Puduhepa, wife of Hattushili III, addressed to a certain Niqmadu gave rise to the proposal to insert the reign of a Niqmadu (III) between the rules of Niqmepa and Ammistamru II.<sup>288</sup> The text concerns the delivery of gold as tribute and mentions "caravans of Egypt"; the contents are therefore economic but point to the high rank of the sender. The addressee, to whom the letter does not give the title of a king, should have been a person with special competence concerning the problem touched upon in the letter. It was therefore proposed to see in this king a ruler of Ugarit and to assign to him several other texts.<sup>289</sup> The arguments advanced in favour of this identification need strengthening by further and more convincing evidence, which could exclude a Niqmadu, brother of Ammistamru and high functionary of the kingdom of Ugarit, or any other person bearing this very common name.

Ammistamru II was a son of Niqmepa; his reign has left quite a number of texts.<sup>290</sup> They provide several direct synchronisms with Tuthaliya IV of Hatti and Ini-Teshup

285 RS 17.238 = PRU IV 107 f.

286 For the Hab/piru see J.Bottéro, *RIA* IV/1 (1972) 14–27 (with a list of references in cuneiform and Egyptian texts) and, most recently, O.Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer. Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums 'ibri vom Appellativum habiru*, Berlin – New York 1984. – The text alludes to a social problem in Syria which is best known from the Amarna letters so far, cf. A.Altman, in: *Bar Ilan Studies in History*, Ramat Gan 1978, 3–24.

287 E.Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 79–115.

288 RS 17.434 (KTU 2.36, 2.37), see Ch.Virolleaud, *CRAIBL* 1954, 257; J.Nougayrol, *PRU* IV 199 f.; H.Otten, *Puduhepa. Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen*, Wiesbaden 1975, 31 (with doubts as to the identity of the sender); A.Caquot, *Ugaritica* VII (1978) 121–134; cf. also E.Edel, *Zeitschrift für Indogerm.Forsch.* 60 (1950) 72–85. For the problem of the addressee cf. M.Liverani, *Suppl.Dict.de la Bible* IX (1979) 1307; E.Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 79–115 (Niqmadu, son of Niqmepa). Cf. now also M.Dijkstra, *UF* 21 (1989) 141–152, who prefers to see a "lost Niqmadu" in the addressee of the letter. A letter-verdict sent to Ammistamru II in the name of the Great King by Puduhepa, RS 17.133 = *PRU* IV 118 f., bears the bilingual seal of this Hittite queen.

289 RS 17.315 = *PRU* IV 111; RS 18.02 and 18.20 + 17.371 = *PRU* IV 201 ff., cf. E.Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 81 f. – W.H.van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*, Leiden 1986, 10 ff.

290 M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 99 ff.; *GS* II 373–377. For RS 15.86 = *PRU* III 51 f. cf. now J.Huehnergard, *UF* 18 (1986) 169–171. New evidence comes especially from *PRU* VI nos.27–40 and 179, *Ugaritica* V nos. 27–29, 33, 159–161, cf. nos. 30, 41, 49. For the seal of Ammistamru see CLF-

of Karkamish, also with Shaushga-muwa of Amurru, Ar(i)-Teshup and Shapili of Siyannu.<sup>291</sup> The exact date of the accession of Ammistamru to the throne of Ugarit is not known; perhaps he began his rule during the late years of the reign of Hattushili III. Ammistamru died, as it seems, during the reign of Tuthaliya IV.

If this is correct, the period of Ammistamru II would have fallen into the time when Hatti and Egypt had concluded their peace "for ever". A treaty of the Hittite king with Ammistamru II is not known. It could be that the treaty received by Niqmepa was considered as the basis also for the relationship of Ammistamru with his overlord. Several times the Hittite king and the viceroy of Karkamish intervened in the affairs of Ugarit, in case they touched upon the interests of the Hittite administration in Syria. An edict of Tuthaliya IV, issued by Ini-Teshup of Karkamish who impressed his bilingual seal on the tablet,<sup>292</sup> released Ugarit from sending troops in support of Tuthaliya who was at war with Assyria. Instead of this, Ammistamru (it certainly was him who ruled Ugarit at this time) should pay 50 minas of gold, i.e. a high amount of "money" perhaps destined for the payment of "Habiru of the Sun" or other troops.<sup>293</sup> It was proposed to connect this text with a revolt of the land of Mukish, the area north of Ugarit which was ruled by a Hittite governor and probably impressed by the Hittite-Assyrian war.<sup>294</sup> If so, then the release of Ugarit from sending troops in support of the Hittites against the Assyrians could have had something to do with the situation in Mukish. If Ammistamru II was also the sender

A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (1955) 78 f.; P.Bordreuil – D.Pardee, *Syria* 61 (1984) 11–14 (from Ras Ibn Hani). A letter which was found in Ugarit during the excavations of 1973 belongs to the time of Tuthaliya IV of Hatti, if the restoration of the personal name is correct: RS 34.165 = S.Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982) 141–156. The text concerns the Hittite-Assyrian conflict in upper Mesopotamia during the later years of reign of Tuthaliya IV; it is uncertain, which king of Ugarit ruled at this time, but Ammistamru II cannot be excluded. For a historical discussion cf. I.Singer, *ZA* 75 (1985) 100–123.

291 Cf. Tuthaliya IV and Ini-Teshup acting in a series of edicts (PRU IV 120 ff.). The wife of Hattushili III, Puduhepa, was still alive during the time of Ammistamru II, as is shown by RS 17.133 = PRU IV 118 f., a letter concerning a shipwreck.

292 RS 17.59 = PRU IV 150 f. To this decision could also refer RS 20.212 = *Ugaritica* V no.33 line 5' (concerning the liberation from ilku-service), sent to a king of Ugarit by the Hittite court; cf. J.Nougayrol, *CRAIBL* 1960, 165.

293 The gold should be taken from "10 caravans" of a certain "house", i.e. the amount was needed at once and quickly and not to be gathered from the various settlements of the kingdom of Ugarit as it was obviously done with the regular tribute (cf. GS II 379 f.). A letter sent by a king (of Karkamish) to the king of Ugarit, RS 20.237 = *Ugaritica* V no.31, concerns a military contingent to be placed at the sender's disposal by the ruler of Ugarit.

294 RS 20.03 = *Ugaritica* V no.26: Letter from Shukur-Teshup, "son of the king", new governor of Mukish and a contemporary of Ammistamru II. – E.Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 87 ff. relates three letters addressed by a certain Talmiyanu (perhaps identical with Ammistamru ??) to his mother, the queen of Ugarit, to the same situation (cf. esp. p.91 ff.). See, furthermore, RS 11.872 (KTU 2.13), a letter of a king to his mother, and RS 16.402 = PRU II no.12 (KTU 2.33 + 7.64 + 7.65), letter of Iri-Sharruma to the queen, where an enemy is mentioned staying in the land of Mukish (Lipiński, p.99 ff.).

of an Ugaritic letter addressed to Ahatmilki, his mother,<sup>295</sup> this text could be seen in connection with military activities of Ugarit in the country of Mukish.<sup>296</sup>

Another edict of Tuthaliya IV (and Ini-Teshup) concerned the sons of the queen Ahatmilki of Ugarit; it is perhaps to be placed at the beginning of the reign of Ammistamru II.<sup>297</sup> Ahatmilki was a daughter of Ari(DU)-Teshup of Amurru (cf. GS II 300 f.), wife of Niqmepa of Ugarit and mother of several sons (three at least), among them Ammistamru II. According to the text, two of her sons, Hishmi-Sharruma and Arar-Sharruma, were exiled to Cyprus after having received their paternal heritage, in order to secure the rule of Ammistamru, who was probably the youngest son of Ahatmilki. The affair touched upon the interests (and perhaps the personal experience) of Tuthaliya IV, and so he made the decision himself.

Ammistamru II was married to a princess of the same royal house where his mother came from, that of Amurru. This is attested by texts of both Tuthaliya and Ini-Teshup concerning the divorce of Ammistamru from this wife.<sup>298</sup> This case of the daughter of Benteshina of Amurru affected the relations between Ugarit and Amurru and made necessary the personal intervention of the Great King. It is possible that the divorce, now confirmed by Tuthaliya IV, was caused not only by personal but also political reasons.<sup>299</sup> The marriage had certainly been contracted during the time when Benteshina was on good terms with Hattushili III and a dynastic connection between Ugarit and Amurru seemed appropriate to the political situation.<sup>300</sup> The daughter of Benteshina gave birth to several children, and Utri-Sharruma, the designated heir to the throne, was already an adult when Ammistamru II was divorced from this queen. According to the decision of the Great King,

295 A.Caquot, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 79 (1978–1979) 481–490; E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 109 ff. The text was discovered at Ras Ibn Hani near Ugarit.

296 Cf. the place-name Akiye = Alalakh Akie/Age (ALT \*54, \*55, \*253), for the location see E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 111.

297 RS 17.352 etc. = PRU IV 121 ff.; RS 17.86+ etc. = Ugaritica V nos.159–161; cf. J.Nougayrol, PRU IV 120 ff. and 261 f.; E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 79–115.

298 RS 17.159, 17.396 = PRU IV 126 ff., cf. R.Yaron, Or 32 (1963) 22–31; RS 1957.1 = L.R.Fisher et al., *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, Rome 1971, 11–21, J.Nougayrol, RA 66 (1972) 88–90 and A.F.Rainey, IOS III (1973) 57–62.

299 The daughter of Benteshina is said to have done something bad to her husband; this was understood in a political sense already by M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 105.

300 An Assyrian letter discovered in Ugarit and addressed to the dignitary Ilimilku by the Assyrian official Bel-libur/Belubur demonstrates good (at least: normal) relations between Assyria and Ugarit: RS 6.198 = F.Thureau-Dangin, Syria 16 (1935) 188–193 (vg. GS II 375 f.); E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 87 f., where the letter is dated to the end of the reign of Adad-nirari I resp. to the early years of Ammistamru's rule. Ilimilku is asked to convey documents to the queen of Ugarit, perhaps Ahatmilki. For a (later) dating of the letter cf. now RS 34.165 = S.Lackenbacher, RA 76 (1982) 141–156 and I.Singer, ZA 75 (1985) 100–123. – A queen(?) named Ulmi sent a letter to the queen of Ugarit who is called her "daughter": RS 16.111 = PRU III 13 f., cf. J.Klîma, ArOr 25 (1957) 327 f. and GS II 376. The sender should have been at home in the country of Amurru, because the gods of Amurru are referred to as protectors together with those of Ugarit.

Utri-Sharruma had the choice between his mother, i.e. to follow her to Amurru, and a stay in Ugarit without any contact with her – even if he became king.

Another affair called “that of the daughter of the Great Lady”, is handed down to us in the form of arbitrations of Tuthaliya IV and Ini-Teshup, a letter of Shaushga-muwa of Amurru and several agreements between this king and Ammistamru II.<sup>301</sup> According to the pertinent texts the “daughter of the Great Lady” fled to her brothers (i.e. possibly members of her tribe or clan). Shaushga-muwa informed the king of Karkamish and imprisoned the refugee, but he did not extradite her to Ugarit; he addressed a rather conciliatory letter to Ammistamru of Ugarit.<sup>302</sup> An attempt of Ammistamru II to get hold of the “daughter of the Great Lady” by force was a failure; an agreement with the king of Amurru fixed the *status quo*.<sup>303</sup> Tuthaliya of Hatti intervened with an edict,<sup>304</sup> and Shaushga-muwa was bound to send the refugee to Ugarit and to solve the problem by a new accord with the king of Amurru. But the lady disappeared, and Tuthaliya declared the affair settled. Shaushga-muwa was obviously also the sender of a letter to the king of Ugarit (i.e. Ammistamru II) referring to an affair with the so-called Umman Manda people which happened during the reign of Benteshina. The hostility of these people now was directed against Ammistamru II but – contrary to the situation when Benteshina mediated between the enemies – Ammistamru was informed that he should settle the affair himself.<sup>305</sup>

As far as the relations of Ugarit with other Syrian states are concerned, two texts from Ugarit refer to Siyannu, the southern neighbour; this country was under the direct control of Karkamish since the reign of Niqmepa. An edict of Tuthaliya IV<sup>306</sup> pertains to a border-affair between Ugarit and Siyannu and refers to the regulations dating back to the time of Murshili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit. The king of Siyannu was Ar(i)-Teshup, who is also mentioned in other documents from Ugarit (cf. above). Problems between people of Ugarit and Siyannu are reflected by a text sealed and probably also issued by Ini-Teshup of Karkamish, overlord of Siyannu and Hittite viceroy. Shapili appears as king of Siyannu.<sup>307</sup> The document is concerned with various affairs: the destruction of a “*dimtu*” (tower, manor) by a gang of robbers (SA.GAZ), who were seen in connection with Siyannu, the damage of vineyards of

301 RS 17.116 etc. = PRU IV 132 ff.; RS 16.270 = PRU III 41 ff.; cf. GS II 373 f. and F.Pintore, Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII, Roma 1978, 82–87. – C.Kühne, UF 5 (1973) 175–184, following an interpretation of RS 1957.1 by L.R.Fisher (cf. above), proposed to identify the “daughter of the Great Lady” with the daughter of Benteshina. This thesis was rejected by E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 91 n. 66, and others.

302 RS 17.116 = PRU IV 132 ff.

303 RS 16.270 = PRU IV 134 ff.

304 RS 18.06+ = PRU IV 137 f.

305 RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180.

306 RS 19.81 = PRU IV 291. Only the beginning of the text is preserved.

307 RS 17.341 = PRU IV 161. Shapili may have ruled in Siyannu at the time of Tuthaliya IV of Hatti and probably after Ar(i)-Teshup (cf. GS I 383). He bore the same name as the ruler installed in Amurru by the king Muwattalli II of Hatti.

Ugarit by people from Siyannu, the illicit trade of Siyannu which perhaps affected privileges of Hatti or Ugarit and was accompanied by thefts in the kingdom of Ugarit. People of Ugarit or Siyannu staying in the respective other country are asked to return to their home country, and the sale of persons to either Ugarit or Siyannu is forbidden. As it seems, these orders were intended to exclude future conflicts. *Prisoners*

The importance of Ugarit within the network of inter-regional trade is shown, albeit with a negative aspect, in the agreement concluded between Ini-Teshup and Ammistamru II; it is probable that this was the king of Ugarit whose name is not mentioned in the text. The document concerns the compensation which was to be paid in case a merchant of the king of Karkamish was killed on territory belonging to the kingdom of Ugarit, or vice versa.<sup>308</sup> A merchant of the king of Tarhudashi was murdered by people from Ugarit, and the case was heard and decided by Ini-Teshup: 180 shekels of silver were given as compensation to a certain Ar(i)-Shimiga, who was acting on behalf of the king of Tarhudashi and was a "brother", i.e. perhaps a colleague, of the killed tradesman.<sup>309</sup> This text refers to commercial connections between Ugarit and the kingdom of Tarhudashi in Anatolia, where a member of the family of the Great King was ruling.<sup>310</sup> Problems which arose in connection with foreign caravans, murder and robbery in the confines of Ugarit during the reign of Ammistamru II are recorded also by other documents.<sup>311</sup> Some letters, probably sent by Ini-Teshup, concern lawsuits of Habiru people or Suteans,<sup>312</sup> and there are also other sources pertaining to minor affairs of this time.<sup>313</sup>

Ammistamru II himself addressed a letter to "the king, my lord", i.e. the Great

308 RS 17.230, 17.146, 18.115, 18.19 and perhaps 19.75 (label) = PRU IV 153 ff. and 292; cf. also RS 20.22 = Ugaritica V no.27 (lines 40 ff.), possibly referring to the murder of a man in the border-area of Siyannu. See H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 61 and in: B.Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen 1980, 189–197.

309 RS 17.158, 17.42 = PRU IV 169 ff.

310 During the reigns of Hattushili III and Tuthaliya IV a certain Kurunta (perhaps identical with Ulmi-Teshup) was ruling in Tarhuntasha/Tarhudashi, cf. also H.Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.*, Wiesbaden 1988. For the location of Tarhuntasha cf. G.F. del Monte – J.Tischler, *RGTC* 6, Wiesbaden 1978, 405 and 467–470.

311 RS 17.145 = PRU IV 172 f.: Merchants of a certain Aballa were murdered. A compensation of 1200 shekels silver was to be paid by people of Ugarit; see also RS 17.234 = PRU IV 173 f. (sons of Shatega) and the decisions of Ini-Teshup RS 17.346, 17.110, 17.317, 17.128 = PRU IV 176 ff. (GS II 374 f.), also RS 17.299, 17.319 = PRU IV 182 ff. The text RS 17.248 = PRU IV 236, sealed by an official of the king of Karkamish (Pihaziti), concerns a case of theft in which two men from Ugarit were involved. For other cases decided by Ini-Teshup see RS 27.051+ and 27.052 = PRU VI nos. 35 and 36.

312 RS 16.03 = PRU III 3 f.; RS 8.333 = PRU III 7 f. The term Suteans refers to people of semi-nomadic origin.

313 RS 17.68 = PRU IV 164 is a donation by Ini-Teshup in favour of Ammistamru II. Cf. also GS II 375–377.

King (Tuthaliya IV) or the king of Karkamish (Ini-Teshup).<sup>314</sup> The tablet is partly broken off and the contents therefore remain unclear (lawsuit of a certain Kizallu). Another letter from this ruler of Ugarit was sent to the prince Hishmi-Teshup, "lord" of the king of Ugarit.<sup>315</sup> It concerned gifts received by the king of Ugarit from the addressee and the demand for further deliveries. Hishmi-Teshup must have been an important person, responsible also for the administration of Emar on the Euphrates as representative of the king of Karkamish.<sup>316</sup> The letter mentions a certain Takuhlu as the intermediary of the gifts, who was obviously the same person as the Takuhlinu, prefect of the land of Ugarit and sender of a letter to the high Egyptian official Haya; the tablet was discovered at Tell Aphek in Palestine.<sup>317</sup> The text pays attention to problems which arose when wheat was to be delivered from or via Ugarit. Other letters, possibly sent to Ugarit at the time of Ammistamru, are more or less uncertain as to their chronological place.<sup>318</sup>

Summing up, the relationship of Ammistamru II of Ugarit to his overlords in Hattusha and Karkamish was not burdened with conflicts. Tensions with Amurru could obviously be settled by the mediation of both Tuthaliya IV and Ini-Teshup. After having made peace with Egypt, the Hittites had to focus on the frontier with Assyria and were eager to remove all possible conflicts in their Syrian regions.

The reign of king Ibiranu is, contrary to that of Ammistamru II, only poorly documented.<sup>319</sup> Ibiranu was a son of Ammistamru, as is shown by some juridical documents.<sup>320</sup> He was, as it seems, not the eldest son of Ammistamru; according to a verdict of Tuthaliya IV concerning the divorce of Ammistamru from the daughter of Benteshina, Utri-Sharruma had been designated for the heir to the throne of

314 RS 16.112 = PRU III 4, cf. GS II 376; J.Nougayrol, PRU III 4 n. 1 and CLF.-A.Schaeffer, PRU III p.XIX f.

315 RS 20.184 = Ugaritica V no.28.

316 D.Arnaud, Emar VI/3, Paris 1986, nos.18 and 19; cf. also KUB XLVIII 88 rev.1, a fragment mentioning queen Puduhepa, see H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 60 f. and D.J.Hawkins, RIA V/5-6 (1980) 433. Obviously the same Hishmi-Teshup appears as "lord" of a certain Takiya, whose affair is the concern of a letter sent to Ammistamru II by a king of Karkamish, certainly Ini-Teshup: RS 20.22 = Ugaritica V no.27, cf. H.Klengel, AoF 2 (1975) 60.

317 D.I.Owen, Tel Aviv 8 (1981) 1-17; I.Singer, Tel Aviv 10 (1983) 3-25; cf. also D.O.Edzard, in: Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984, Jerusalem 1985, 251 f.

318 RS 20.255A = Ugaritica V no.30, with similarities to RS 17.383 = PRU IV 221 ff., where also Takuhlu (cf. RS 17.422 = PRU IV 223 ff.) is appearing, mentioned in Ammistamru's letter RS 20.184 = Ugaritica V no.28. RS 21.183 = Ugaritica V no.41 was sent from a king (of Siyannu?, cf. PRU IV 161 ff.). RS 20.16, 20.172 and 20.200B = Ugaritica V nos. 38-40 are letters from Qidshu/Qadesh to Ugarit, possibly belonging to the reign of Ammistamru II.

319 M.Liverani, Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici, Roma 1962, 125-128; GS II 388-396; cf. J.Nougayrol, PRU II 185-197 and PRU VI nos.41-44, perhaps also Ugaritica V nos.31, 32 and 35.

320 RS 15.139 and 16.186 = PRU III 167 f., PRU VI 42.



Ugarit.<sup>321</sup> For reasons not known to us he did not ascend to the throne; perhaps he left Ugarit together with his mother? It seems possible that Ibiranu had already followed his father as king of Ugarit during the rule of Tuthaliya IV, although there is no direct synchronism so far. The kings of Karkamish, lords of the kings of Ugarit, are not mentioned by their names in the pertinent sources. Probably the early rule of Ibiranu coincided with the reign of Ini-Teshup whose sons were already adults and active in the administration of Hittite Syria.<sup>322</sup> His second successor, Ammurapi, was a contemporary of Talmi-Teshup of Karkamish, son of Ini-Teshup. It is not certain, if Ibiranu was still reigning when Talmi-Teshup began his rule in Karkamish. As far as Hatti is concerned, Arnuwanda (III) could have also been a contemporary ruler.

The texts pertaining to the reign of Ibiranu furnish only some information with regard to the relations between Ugarit and Karkamish or Hatti. A letter sent to Ugarit by the "son of the king" to Ibiranu, his "son",<sup>323</sup> is of major interest. Pihawalwi questions Ibiranu as to why he did not appear before the "Sun", the Great King, since he ascended to the throne of Ugarit; he is also blamed to have neglected the regular contact of sending messengers. The Great King therefore became angry with his vassal, and Ibiranu is now urgently asked to send his messengers to Hatti with presents for His Majesty and for Pihawalwi himself. The text seems to offer a reference to the conditions as fixed in the vassal treaty concluded by Niqmepa with Murshili II, the stipulations of which were obviously valid also during the time of Ibiranu's reign. The fact that Pihawalwi avoids giving the title of king to the addressee could point to a still non-legitimized position of the ruler of Ugarit; he was recognized officially only after he had fulfilled the conditions laid down in the treaty with the Hittite overlord. It is possible that the letter was conveyed to the king of Ugarit during the early reign of Ibiranu, albeit certainly not in the very beginning. Another letter, this time written by the king of Karkamish himself,<sup>324</sup> is concerned with an inspection of the infantry and chariot-troops of Ugarit, an auxiliary contingent to support the Hittites. The control was exercised by the official Talmi-Teshup, who was in the service of the "Sun", i.e. the Great King.<sup>325</sup> The last sentence of the letter points to a very dangerous situation, possibly caused by an Assyrian attack.

The frontiers of the kingdom of Ugarit as they were established by Armaziti are the concern of two other letters too. One is sent by the king of Karkamish, the other

321 RS 17.159 = PRU IV 126 (cf. above).

322 As "sons of the king" are mentioned Aliheshni, Misramuwa, Upparmuwa; for Armaziti cf. F.Imparati, in: F.Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica* (Fs. G.Pugliese Carratelli), Firenze 1988, 79-94, for Aliheshni see F.Imparati, *Hethitica VIII* (1987) 187-207, esp.195 ff.

323 RS 17.247 = PRU IV 191, cf. CLF-A.Schaeffer, *AfO* 17 (1954-1956) 96, where the text is related to events of the time of Tuthaliya IV.

324 RS 17.289 = PRU IV 192. To the same situation could refer a fragmentary letter, not from the king of Karkamish: RS 11.834 = PRU III 17, cf. J.Nougayrol, *PRU IV* 192 and *GS I* 66. - Cf. also RS 17.18 = PRU IV 195 and, perhaps related to the same situation, RS 19.122 = PRU IV 289.

325 The title "Sun" is not evidenced for the kings of Karkamish so far. The lord of this Talmi-Teshup therefore should have been the Great King of Hatti.

by the "son of the king" Aliheshni.<sup>326</sup> Two officials, Ebina'e and Kurkalli,<sup>327</sup> are announced as visiting Ugarit in order to settle the border problems. The section of the frontier in question and the reason, or dimension of the new regulation are not known.

Armaziti himself is mentioned also in other texts from the archives of Ugarit and Hattusha.<sup>328</sup> A lawsuit of the customs official or tax collector Aballa and the "merchant of the queen" Pushku was heard and decided by him.<sup>329</sup> The affair concerned a debt as is also the case in an other document issued by Armaziti and witnessed by four merchants of the city of Ura, designated as merchants of the Great King.<sup>330</sup>

Various other subjects are treated in letters of the king of Karkamish (perhaps Ini-Teshup) to Ibiranu of Ugarit. A "son of the king", Misramuwa, is announced as coming to stay in Ugarit; he should be welcomed by the addressee.<sup>331</sup> Juniper trunks of a fixed length and thickness were demanded.<sup>332</sup> The letters of the king of Karkamish could underline that Ibiranu was considered as a vassal who was not very reliable. In case a letter sent by a king of Ugarit to the ruler of Karkamish(?) could be attributed to the texts of the reign of Ibiranu, this would give further evidence for a rather close connection between the two most important centres of northern Syria.<sup>333</sup> The fact that a letter to the Hittite king refers to a certain Musramuwa, obviously identical with Misramuwa mentioned above, could argue for a date of the tablet during the reign of Ibiranu.<sup>334</sup> Contacts between Ugarit and Birutu (Beruta/Beirut?) on the political level are shown by a tablet sent from the king of Birutu to the prefect of the land of Ugarit.<sup>335</sup>

326 RS 17.292 = PRU IV 188 (addressee: Ibiranu) and RS 15.77 = PRU III 6 f. (name of the addressee not mentioned). Both texts could date to the time of Ini-Teshup.

327 For Ebina'e see his letter to the prefect of Ugarit, RS 17.78 = PRU IV 196 f. A certain Gurgali/Kurkalli appears in KUB XLVIII 113 (Bo 3824), where also the king (and) the palace of Karkamish are mentioned (cf. already GS I 66).

328 See F.Imparati, in F.Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica* (Fs. G.Pugliese Carratelli), Firenze 1988, 79-94.

329 RS 17.314 = PRU IV 189 f. and (dupl.?) RS 17.449. Perhaps the same Aballa appears in RS 17.145 = PRU IV 172 f. (time of Ammistamru II).

330 RS 17.316 = PRU IV 190 f. For the problems of Ugarit with these commercial agents from Ura see RS 17.130 = PRU IV 103 ff. It is possible that the killed person in question (Musruna) was a citizen of Ura too, cf. already M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Roma 1962, 126.

331 RS 17.423 = PRU IV 193; for the protagonists of the text see F.Imparati, *Hethitica VIII* (1987) 187-207. Misramuwa is called a brother of Upparmuwa who was, as it seems, better known to the king of Ugarit than the expected visitor.

332 RS 17.385 = PRU IV 194.

333 RS 15.14 = PRU III 5.

334 RS 20.243 = Ugaritica V no.32.

335 RS 11.730 = PRU IV 12. The name of the lord of the addressee is not known, and the identity of Birutu not yet settled with certainty, although the fact that there was a "king" of this city would not favour the equation of this Birutu with the settlement on Ras Ibn Hani, the name of which is discussed by D.Arnaud, *Syria* 61 (1984) 15-23.

Ibiranu was succeeded by his son Niqmadu (III, or IV in case we insert another Niqmadu before Ammistamru II, cf. above). There is only a single text so far where a Niqmadu, son of Ibiranu, is clearly attested as king of Ugarit: A document concerning the internal affairs of Ugarit is sealed by the "dynastic seal" which is declared as the seal of Niqmadu, son of Ibiranu, at the end of the same text.<sup>336</sup> The name of this Niqmadu could be restored on a fragmentary tablet where a royal donation is mentioned, and on two further inscribed fragments.<sup>337</sup> Other textual sources, which do not refer to Niqmadu explicitly, are still disputed.<sup>338</sup> A juridical document which concerns 100 shekels of silver given to a priest of the goddess Ishtar of Zinzaru could be assigned to Niqmadu III only because of the names of the witnesses.<sup>339</sup> The same is true for a verdict of the official Zuzzullu, who was in the service of the king of Karkamish.<sup>340</sup> Thus there is practically no secure information on the political activities of Niqmadu, son of Ibiranu, and no synchronism is established by the material available so far.

The last king of Ugarit known from the archives of the Late Bronze Age is Ammurapi (Hammurapi).<sup>341</sup> He is not explicitly attested as a son of a former king of Ugarit, but two Ugaritic rituals connect him with royal ancestors (Yaqaru, Ammistamru, Niqmadu, Niqmepa, Arhalba, Ibiranu) and ask for peace for himself, his wife(?), his city Ugarit, his house and doors.<sup>342</sup> It was supposed that the ritual in question was used on the occasion of the coronation and that the succession of the —

336 RS 18.21 = PRU VI no.45. As scribe a certain Ehli-Teshup is mentioned.

337 RS 17.350B = PRU VI no.46 (perhaps also with the "dynastic seal"). — RS 16.198B and 15.113 = PRU III 168 f.(cf. GS II 397).

338 A letter from a certain Niqmadu to the king of Alashiya/Cyprus concerning the delivery of oil is uncertain as to the identity of this Niqmadu: RS 20.168 = Ugaritica V no.21, cf. J.Nougayrol, CRAIBL 1960, 166 and M.L.Heltzer, VDI 3/1970, 188.

339 RS 18.02 = PRU IV 201, cf. J.Nougayrol, PRU IV 199 f. The text does not imply that Zinzaru (Sheizar) was part of the kingdom of Ugarit.

340 RS 18.20 + 17.371 = PRU IV 202 f. The text mentions a Taguhlinu as a high dignitary who could be the official known from texts of the time of Ammistamru II. Both RS 18.02 and 18.20+ are attributed to an earlier Niqmadu by E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 81.

341 For the epigraphic material coming from or pertaining to the reign of Ammurapi see J.Nougayrol, PRU IV 205–210; M.Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, Roma 1962, 131–135; GS II 398–402. Cf. now also Ugaritica V no.23 and the rituals discussed by P.Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit*, I, Roma 1981, 279 ff. and P.Bordreuil — D.Pardee, *Syria* 59 (1982) 121–128. An alphabetic letter from Ammurapi to the king of Egypt was communicated by P.Bordreuil, *Semitica* 32 (1982) 10–12 (RS 34.356).

342 RS 34.126 = KTU 1.161, see C.L.F.-A.Schaeffer-Forrer, *Ugaritica VII*, Paris 1978, 399 ff. and P.Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit*, I, Roma 1981, 279 ff., also P.Bordreuil — D.Pardee, *Syria* 59 (1982) 121–128; RS 24.257 = KTU 1.113, cf. P.Xella, *l.c.* 288 ff. — Yaqaru appears among the *rephaim*/ancestors in a text from Ras Ibn Hani (77/8A+), see P.Bordreuil — A.Caquot, *Syria* 56 (1979) 301–303. Another text from Ras Ibn Hani (77/21A) could also refer to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit, cf. P.Bordreuil — A.Caquot, *l.c.* 307. The texts from Ras ibn Hani seem at least partly to belong to the time of Ammurapi of Ugarit. They show traces of fire due to the conflagration of the palace.

apparently very young — Ammurapi was not without problems.<sup>343</sup> When Ammurapi ascended the throne, Talmi-Teshup was still ruling in Karkamish.<sup>344</sup> It is certain that Ammurapi was also a contemporary of Shuppiluliuma II/Shuppiluliyama, even though the name of this king is never mentioned in the pertinent texts. It should have been Shuppiluliuma II who addressed the letter to Ammurapi, which was discovered among the 71 tablets "of the kiln", i.e. the set of clay tablets which was placed in the kiln for burning shortly before Ugarit was destroyed.<sup>345</sup> The "tablets of the kiln" therefore should be — perhaps with some exceptions — dated to the time of Ammurapi or his predecessor, but are not necessarily belonging to the days immediately before the end of Late Bronze Age Ugarit.<sup>346</sup> Although a letter of the Hittite king (RS 34.129:5 f.) designates the king of Ugarit as "small", he was divorced from the Hittite princess Ehli-Nikkal later on. It was Talmi-Teshup of Karkamish who made a decision as to the compensation for the Hittite princess and the returning of a manor to the king of Ugarit.<sup>347</sup> Ehli-Nikkal perhaps married a second time, and it was obviously Tanhuwatasha, king of Habishe,<sup>348</sup> who became her new husband. As the royal house of Hattusha was involved in this case, Talmi-Teshup personally decided the affair.<sup>349</sup> The duration of the reign of Ammurapi is not definitely determined, but should not be estimated as long.<sup>350</sup>

343 M.Liverani, *Suppl.Dict.de la Bible IX*, Paris 1979, 1312.

344 Cf. RS 17.226, 17.355 = PRU IV 208 ff.

345 RS 18.38 = KTU 2.39 and PRU V no.60: Ugaritic translation of a text written in Akkadian. Cf. H.B.Huffman — S.B.Parker, *BASOR* 184 (1966) 37 n.9; Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V*, Paris 1968, 725–731; G.A.Lehmann, in: S.Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*. Symposium Zwettl 1980, Wien 1983, 86; J.Hoftijzer, in: W.C.Delsman et al.(eds.), *Von Kanaan bis Kerala* (Fs J.P.M.van der Ploeg, AOAT 211), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 379–387. — The alphabetic letter sent by Ammurapi to his "lord", the king of Egypt, is too damaged as to allow conclusions for political history: P.Bordreuil, *Semitica* 32 (1982) 10–12 (RS 34.356).

346 PRU V nos.59–113, 158–170, cf. GS II 399 f. and M.Liverani, *Suppl.Dict.de la Bible IX*, Paris 1979, 1313 and J.-C.Courtois, *ibid.* 1230 ff. J.Hoftijzer, *UF* 11 (1979) 383, assumed that part of the texts could also date back to an earlier king. For the discovery of the "tablettes du four" see Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV*, Paris 1962, 31–45.

347 RS 17.226, 17.355 = PRU IV 208 ff., cf. also RS 20.216 = *Ugaritica V* no.35 and H.Klengel, *AoF* 2 (1975) 61; M.C.Astour, *UF* 12 (1980) 103–108. According to the latter (p.105 n.19), the fragment RS 17.429 = PRU IV 102 should belong to the same case.

348 M.Astour, *UF* 12 (1980) 107 f., equates this Habishe with Hakm/pish, well known from Hittite sources and located in Anatolia, although this seems very unlikely.

349 Another letter of Talmi-Teshup to Ammurapi of Ugarit is RS 13.7B = PRU III 6. The text is too badly preserved as to allow conclusions.

350 J.Freu, *Syria* 65 (1988) 395–398, cf. for the problem also G.A.Lehmann, in: S.Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*. Symposium Zwettl 1980, Wien 1983, 90 (c.4–5 years only); L.Singer, *Hethitica VIII* (1987) 413–421.

Several texts from Ugarit are concerned with the role of the city in the supply of Anatolia with foodstuffs, especially cereals; it remains unclear whether they all stem from the time of Ammurapi or not. Nevertheless, they may be mentioned here: A letter of the Great King to the king of Ugarit<sup>351</sup> asks the addressee to take care of grain from the land of Mukish intended to be sent to Hatti via Ura. The matter is said to be very urgent, i.e. of "life and death". Perhaps this could refer to a severe famine in Anatolia, as is also indicated in an inscription of the Egyptian king Merneptah.<sup>352</sup> Ura appears as a port for the import of cereals also in a text from Boghazköy, again in connection with famine in Hatti.<sup>353</sup> In any case, although famine in Hatti was not a singular occurrence,<sup>354</sup> the supply of the Hittite core area with foodstuffs was problematic during the last period of the empire. It cannot be excluded that the political situation in Asia Minor or internal conflicts in Hatti contributed to this situation. Ugarit was important for the shipment of additional foodstuffs from Syria to the city of Ura in Cilicia or other places from which the transport crossed the Taurus range. This is corroborated by a tablet sent to the king of Ugarit, whose name is not mentioned, by a certain *Pgn*, perhaps identical with the Pukana of a seal discovered at Tarsus in Cilicia, who was a high dignitary of the Hittite empire.<sup>355</sup>

Beside a number of letters and economic texts which indicate contacts with various centres of the Levant, with Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean world,<sup>356</sup> some texts certainly belonging to the late or latest period of the kingdom of Ugarit deserve special attention. Three letters from the kiln of the palace of Ugarit point to enemies,

351 RS 20.212 = Ugaritica V no.33, cf. J.Nougayrol, *Iraq* 25 (1963) 118 note 52; Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V*, Paris 1968, 731; GS II 394 f.; M.L.Heltzer, *VDI* 3/1970, 188; H.Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974) 168 and 170 (where also RS 20.141B = Ugaritica V no.34 is referred to, a fragment of a letter mentioning 30 ships).

352 J.H.Breasted, *AR* III § 580. According to J.von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Berlin 1984, 162, Merneptah reigned from 1212 to 1202.

353 Bo 2810 = H.Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974) 170–173 (with copy); cf. also the mention of Ura in RS 26.158 = Ugaritica V no.171.

354 H.Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974) 165–175; A.Ünal, *Belleten* XLI (1977) 446–472. J.Neumann – S.Parpola, *JNES* 46 (1987) 161–182, have advanced arguments for a warmer period at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., which would mean less rain during winter and less water for agriculture in the highlands including Anatolia.

355 RS 18.147 = PRU V no.61; for a discussion of this "tablet of the kiln" see H.Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974) 168 f., and Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V*, Paris 1968, 722–725. H.Otten, in: S.Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*, Symposium Zwettl 1980, Wien 1983, 13–24, stressed the opinion that only after a breakdown of Hatti the Sea Peoples could have penetrated into Syria (and destroyed Ugarit); earlier attacks should have been those of pirates only. Cf. also G.A.Lehmann, *ibid.* 79–97.

356 Cf. especially RS 18.25 = PRU V no.106; RS 18.24 = PRU V no.101; RS 18.31 = PRU V no.59; RS 18.42 = PRU V no.95. For RS 18.113A (KTU 2.42 + 2.43) = PRU V no.8, a letter addressed to the king of Ugarit at the time of pharaoh Amenophis III, cf. A.B.Knapp, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983) 38–45.

to the equipment of ships and troops and an extremely dangerous situation.<sup>357</sup> This could have been caused by the Sea Peoples who appeared in the eastern Mediterranean. Among the texts discovered in 1972 in Ugarit and intended to be published in *Ugaritica* VIII,<sup>358</sup> one tablet refers to the Shikalayu, a group of the Sea Peoples.<sup>359</sup> The "enemy" usually not mentioned by name in the pertinent texts could therefore well belong to the Sea Peoples. The Shikalayu, who are said to live on ships, were plundering and attacking the coastal settlements during the time when the king of Ugarit was still young; this king could have been Ammurapi.<sup>360</sup> Certainly the same ruler is concerned in letters from and to Cyprus, closely related as to their date and contents.<sup>361</sup> The first letter, addressed to the king of Ugarit by Eshuwaru, a high dignitary of the kingdom of Alashiya (RS 20.18), informs about the activities of enemies who had already attacked people and ships of Ugarit and who are now preparing — with 20 ships — for new hostilities. Also the letter sent by the king of Alashiya himself (RS L.1) pertains to enemy ships and supposes an attack on the kingdom of Ugarit. The king of Alashiya advises Ammurapi on precautionary measures: He should strengthen his towns with walls and bring his soldiers and chariots behind them, i.e. he should be ready for defence. The situation in Ugarit is underlined by the letter of the king of Ugarit to the king of Alashiya, who is addressed as "father" perhaps also because of the youth of the sender (RS 20.238). The king of Ugarit informs of the approach of hostile ships; some settlements were already destroyed by fire. His own troops would be in the land of Hatti, i.e. they were in the service of the overlord, while the ships were in the land of Lukka. Thus the kingdom of Ugarit was open to the enemy. "Seven" (i.e.: many) ships of the enemy were responsible for the conflagrations and plunderings on territory of Ugarit, before they

357 RS 18.75 = PRU V no.65, cf. M.C.Astour, *AJA* 69 (1965) 256, who proposed an addressee in Amurru; RS 18.148 = PRU V no.62, cf. Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, Paris 1962, 43: Ugaritic translation from two original letters sent by a certain Yadon(?) to the king of Ugarit; RS 18.40 = PRU V no.63, cf. M.C.Astour, *Lc.* 256 f., who expressed the opinion that the letter was not sent from Tyre but from Cilicia and is alluding to the Sea Peoples. The same Shipitba'al, sender of RS 18.40, could be the addressee of RS 20.227 = *Ugaritica* V no.57, a text pertaining to an intended journey to Emar on the Euphrates.

358 Cl.F.-A.Schaeffer-Forrer, *Ugaritica* VII, Paris 1978, 399–405. To these texts belong letters of the Hittite king (RS 34.129, 34.136, 34.143, 34.145), of the king of Tarhudasu/Tarhuntasha (RS 34.139), of the king of Qidshu/Qadesh (RS 34.146) and the king of Ushnati (RS 34.158). For RS 34.142, perhaps sent from the region of Mari, see S.Lackenbacher, *MARI* 3 (1984) 185–189. At least some of them could belong to the last period of the kingdom of Ugarit.

359 RS 34.129 = M.Dietrich — O.Loretz, *UF* 10 (1978) 53–56; cf. G.A.Lehmann, *UF* 11 (1979) 481–494, and E.Edel, *BN* 23 (1984) 7–8.

360 Cf. RS 34.129:5 f. and M.Dietrich — O.Loretz, *UF* 10 (1978) 53–56, also in: O.Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT* L/5 (1985) 508.

361 RS 20.18, RS L.1, RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V nos.22–24, cf. P.-R.Berger, *UF* 1 (1969) 217–221, and the translation given by M.Dietrich — O.Loretz, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT* L/5 (1985) 508–510.

withdrew. The addressee is asked to tell the king of Ugarit all news concerning the movements of the foreign ships.<sup>362</sup>

This epigraphic material from the last period of the kingdom of Ugarit could corroborate the thesis that the enemy mentioned in the texts was responsible for the final destruction of the city. Ammurapi, last king of Ugarit, lost his life — or his crown only — during the catastrophe. About the same time also the settlement and the palaces on the peninsula of Ras Ibn Hani were destroyed. But while the inhabitants of Ugarit left their houses in hurry and did not return afterwards, the site of Ras Ibn Hani was resettled shortly after the catastrophe, perhaps by the invaders themselves.<sup>363</sup> That Ugarit remained empty for about one millennium, seems rather strange when only the attack of an enemy and a conflagration of the city are assumed. As textual witnesses are lacking, only the archaeological material could indicate another aspect of the problem: It was proposed to see the destruction and subsequent conflagration as result of a heavy earthquake.<sup>364</sup> In the coastal area of Syria earthquakes are frequent,<sup>365</sup> but only if the earthquake had changed living conditions in the area of Ugarit, would this explain why the city was left empty afterwards and not reconstructed. Normally, the cities were rebuilt rather quickly after a conquest by enemies or other catastrophes. Perhaps the tectonic structure of the region was affected seriously, especially in the area of the harbour? Perhaps also the general conditions for earning livelihood changed for a longer time? In any case, Ugarit was not replaced by another centre in this region until the Hellenistic period when Laodiceia flourished. But during the early Iron Age, other Syrian cities, which were located more to the south, became dominant in the Levant. Maybe it was a complex sequence of events and developments which were responsible for the fact that the kingdom of Ugarit was never revived.

### *The major kingdoms of the central plains:*

*Perian period!*

#### *(a) Nuhashe and Niya.*

The Syrian plains east of the middle Orontes and south of Halab/Aleppo were rather densely settled during the period in question. The country of Barga/Parka, men-

362 Cf. GS II 401 f. and G.A. Lehmann, in: S. Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*. Symposium Zwerthl 1980, Wien 1983, 86–92. Lehmann dates this correspondence to the time between the early reign of Merneptah and year 5 of Ramses III, i.e. about 1212 to 1180. It is possible that the sea-battle of Shuppiluliuma II against "ships of the land Alashiya" and the subsequent military activities took place during the early years of reign of Shuppiluliuma II, cf. KBo XII 38 (CTH 121).

363 A. Bounni, in: H. Klengel (ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, 21.

364 Cl. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V* (1968) 753–768, cf. also GS II 406 f. and M. Liverani, *Suppl. Dict. de la Bible IX*, Paris 1979, 1314 f.

365 Cf. R. Wolfart, *Syrien und Libanon. Beiträge zur regionalen Geologie der Erde*, Berlin 1967, 193 and tab. 32, fig. 44.

tioned in a number of Egyptian and cuneiform texts,<sup>366</sup> was located in the region of modern Idlib. A document from the time of Murshili II of Hatti<sup>367</sup> reports the enthronement of a certain Abiratta, but the existence of Barga as an political entity is already attested from the period of the Amarna letters (EA 57), although the name of the ruler is not handed down to us. A king of B/Parga sent a letter to the prefect of Ugarit (RS 15.19 = PRU III 13), but the main corpus of the text is lost and the date is uncertain. Thus the political development of Barga remains in darkness; one of the reasons for the poor documentation could be that Barga was closely connected with Nuhashe and was sometimes integrated into its territory, i.e. belonged to the "Nuhashe lands" of the sources.

Nuhashe was located between Halab and Hama (cf. GS II 18 f.). It is mentioned in textual sources since the time of Tuthmosis III, who was fighting in this area (GS II 22 f. and 33 ff.). An Amarna letter (EA 51) points to a "grandfather" of the addressee as the pharaoh who installed a certain Taku as king of Nuhashe, perhaps one of the chiefs living in this region. Afterwards, the region of Nuhashe fell under the overlordship of Hurri-Mittani, and the Amarna letters reflect the conquest of the area by the Hittites at the time of Shuppiluliuma I. The introduction of the Talmi-Teshup treaty<sup>368</sup> refers to the fact that the lands(!) of Nuhashe were taken from the king of Mittani. Shuppiluliuma I was able to validate his conquest of Nuhashe as an act of support for the local king Sharrupshi, who designated himself as a "servant of the king of Hatti", perhaps alluding to an earlier overlordship of Hatti.<sup>369</sup> As it seems, the king of Mittani marched against Nuhashe and Sharrupshi asked the Hittites for their support. If compared with the evidence from Amarna and Ugarit, the situation could become understandable only if Nuhashe formed a complex of political units ruled by several kings. When the Hittites attacked the Mittanian area of upper Mesopotamia, the Nuhashe of Sharrupshi again fought on the Mittanian side (cf. GS II 40 f.), whereas Addu-nirari, who sent the letter EA 51 to Egypt, should have been another king of Nuhashe — or was he an immediate successor of Sharrupshi? It was this Addu-nirari who was member of an alliance which campaigned against Ugarit; his allies were the kings of Mukish and Niya.<sup>370</sup> The name of the king of Niya was Aki-Teshup; the same ruler of Niya appears in the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza of Mittani as an enemy of the Hittites, but also as a "brother" of a

366 Cf. GS III 74 f., also KUB LVII 95; G.F. del Monte — J. Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 304.

367 KBo III 3 and dupl. (CTH 63), see H. Klengel, Or 32 (1963) 32–55.

368 KBo I 6 and dupl. (CTH 75), obv. 33–36. Cf. also KBo X 12(+) 13 (CTH 49, Hittite version of the Aziru treaty), line 15', where Nuhashe is mentioned among the adversaries of Shuppiluliuma I, because the land belonged to the Syrian zone dominated by Mittani.

369 KBo I 4 + KUB III 10 and dupl. (CTH 53) I 1–33; furthermore see KBo I 1 and dupl. (CTH 51, Shattiwaza treaty) obv. 5 ff.

370 RS 17.340 = PRU IV 48 ff. (Niqmadu treaty of Shuppiluliuma I); cf. RS 17.132 = PRU IV 35 ff., where only Nuhashe and Mukish are mentioned, and RS 17.227 and dupl. = PRU IV 40 ff., pertaining to "all the kings of Nuhashe" and the king of Mukish. RS 17.772 = PRU IV 44 ff. is the Ugaritic version. As it seems, Niya was considered as part of the Nuhashe lands.



certain Taku(wa) of Niya.<sup>371</sup> Thus many questions as to the history of Nuhashe and Niya during the time of the Hittite conquest of northern Syria remain unsolved. One of the Amarna letters (EA 53) stresses the fidelity of Niya towards Egypt, obviously referring to the situation during the "one-year campaign" of Shuppiluliuma I. During this Hittite attack Niya submitted to Hatti (cf. EA 59). According to the Shuppiluliuma – Shattiwaza treaty, Taku(wa) of Niya met Shuppiluliuma in Alalakh, i.e. in the capital of Mukish, in order to demonstrate his submission to Hittite overlordship. But Aki-Teshup offered resistance, together with the prince Akiya of Arah(a)ti, a regional centre somewhere between Niya and Qatna. Aki-Teshup, Akiya and their Maryannu-troops were taken prisoner and deported to Hatti. The deportees (NAM.RA) from Niya mentioned in the Aziru treaty<sup>372</sup> might have been part of the booty taken by the Hittites during this campaign.

As far as the land of Nuhashe is concerned, king Addu-nirari asked Egypt for help against the Hittites. The loyalty of Nuhashe towards Egypt is also mentioned in a letter sent by Akizzi of Qatna to Egypt (EA 53); the kings of Niya, Zinzar and Tunanab are described as faithful too. Akizzi, certainly exaggerating the fidelity of these rulers of the central plains of Syria and consciously overlooking the fact that these areas belonged to Mittani and not to Egypt, accused Aitakama of Qidshu/Qadesh and Aziru of Amurru (EA 55) because of their position, of this trying to profit from the situation and collaborating with the Hittites. It seems possible to date these texts to the time when Shuppiluliuma was in northern Syria (Alalakh) where he received the submission of the king Taku(wa) of Niya (but not of Aki-Teshup) and of Niqmadu II,<sup>373</sup> before he started his attack on Nuhashe. He took prisoner the members of the family of Sharrupshi, who himself obviously had died, and deported them to Hatti. A former "servant" of Sharrupshi, Takipsharri, became king of the town of Ukulzat in Nuhashe.<sup>374</sup> It seems that four letters of Aziru (EA 164–167) belong to the period when Shuppiluliuma stayed in the Nuhashe lands.<sup>375</sup> The fate of Addu-nirari is not known; the enmity of Nuhashe kings(!) against Aziru as recorded in EA 161 could imply hostile acts also by Addu-nirari shortly before Nuhashe was captured by the Hittites. Aziru himself made his own contacts with the

371 KBo I 1 and dupl.(CTH 51) I 30 ff.; cf. the Hittite version of the Aziru treaty KBo X 12 I 16', which refers to the enmity of the king of Niya without mention of the name of this ruler.

372 KBo X 12 (CTH 49) III 19'.

373 The latter received a treaty afterwards which assigned to him fugitives from Nuhashe, Mukish and other countries "for ever": RS 17.369A = PRU IV 52.

374 KBo I 1 (CTH 51) I 30 ff. Ukulzat is mentioned outside the Shattiwaza treaty only in KUB XV 34 and 35+ (CTH 483 and 716, rituals), cf. G.F. del Monte – J. Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 451 f. Against W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1971) 285, Ukulzat is not necessarily to be considered as the capital of Nuhashe, but was surely one of the major settlements. A localization is not possible.

375 Cf. also the Amarna letter EA 170 pointing to the advance of the Hittite general Zitana with 90000 warriors; according to EA 169 the kings of Nuhashe blamed a son of Aziru for having sold his father to Egypt for gold. In EA 160 and 161 Aziru refers to the hostile position of the kings of Nuhashe.

Hittites about the same time and was therefore considered as a traitor (towards Egypt) by other Syrian Princes (cf. EA 55). Thus the real political situation in the central plains of Syria during the advance of the Hittites is still unclear. The relevant epigraphic material is problematical as to its chronology and truthfulness. Although the Hittites succeeded in conquering all Nuhashe lands, their domination was still challenged by Mittani, not yet beaten in its core area, and by the fact that Egypt was backing the opposition of Syrian rulers.

During the later years of Shuppiluliuma I, i.e. after the capture of Karkamish and the death of the Egyptian pharaoh, another king of Nuhashe, Tette, appears in Hittite documents. He received a vassal treaty from Shuppiluliuma, probably about the same time when also Aziru of Amurru signed a treaty with the Hittite king.<sup>376</sup> The introduction to the Tette treaty is concerned with the Hittite support for Sharrupshi of Nuhashe; the following parts are broken off thus leaving open the further development of relations between Hatti and Nuhashe.<sup>377</sup> The preserved text continues with the yearly duties of the vassal: He had to bring his tribute according to the weight-stones of the merchants of Hatti, to appear regularly before his overlord, to support the king of Hatti by sending troops in case there was an attack on Hittite territory or a rebellion, to provide Hittite troops with food when staying in Nuhashe, to extradite fugitives to the Great King immediately after they had entered his kingdom and to do the same with those who slandered the Hittite majesty. Other clauses, to be restored following the parallel Aziru treaty,<sup>378</sup> seem to have contained a verdict concerning the sending of fugitives to countries others than Hatti, and further regulations with regard to partition of booty and the acceptance of gifts from other rulers. This could mean that Tette originated from Nuhashe, was deported afterwards and then sent back to his country.

The rule of Tette ended about the 7th year of reign of Murshili II (cf. GS II 50 ff.). Direct synchronisms link him with Shuppiluliuma I and Murshili II of Hatti, Niqmadu II of Ugarit, Sharri-Kushuh of Karkamish and Abiratta/Abiradda of Barga, as is shown by a number of texts pertaining to his rule.<sup>379</sup> The annals of Murshili II refer to rebellions of Nuhashe against Hittite overlordship during the years 7 and 9 of Murshili's reign.<sup>380</sup> A proposal for alliance sent by Sharri-Kushuh of Karkamish to

376 The Aziru treaty is very close to the Tette treaty with regard to both form and contents. The text is handed down in an Akkadian version: KBo I 4 + KUB III 10 and dupl. (CTH 53). For a discussion of the date of the treaty cf. GS II 44 f.

377 The origin of Tette is not indicated by the pertinent texts, but it seems possible that he was a member of the family of Sharrupshi which was deported to Hatti (cf. the Shattiwaza treaty).

378 Cf. H.Freydank, MIO 7 (1960) 356-381.

379 The identity of a Tette mentioned in a text from Ras Ibn Hani (77/17) with Tette of Nuhashe, as proposed by D.Arnaud - D.A.Kennedy, Syria 56 (1979) 318, is not to be made for certain so far.

380 Cf. A.Götze, MVAG 38 (1933) 84 ff. and 108 ff.; H.Otten, MIO 3 (1955) 153-179; T.R.Bryce, AnSt 38 (1988) 21-28. Two revolts of Nuhashe are evidenced also by the treaty of Murshili II with Duppi-Teshup of Amurru (CTH 62), cf. J.Friedrich, MVAG

Niqmadu II of Ugarit<sup>381</sup> asks the addressee to attack Tette of Nuhashe, whose territory – including Barga and Niya – bordered on the kingdom of Ugarit. This conflict between Hatti and Nuhashe could be connected with events of the 7th year of Murshili II (or earlier), because the second revolt of Nuhashe against Murshili II is dated into the year 9, shortly after the death of Sharri-Kushuh. The revolt of Tette and EN-urta, possibly another local ruler of the Nuhashe lands, which is recorded in the “arbitrage concerning Barga” of Murshili II,<sup>382</sup> occurred at a time which seemed favourable, because Murshili II himself was occupied with his army in Anatolia. The attack of EN-urta was repulsed by a certain Abiradda, who had received the promise of Murshili II to gain Iyaruwatta, once a town belonging to Barga, if the Hittites were able to seize and to plunder it – except in the case when the hostile Tette was killed before. As the rebellion of Tette went on, perhaps stimulated or backed by an Egyptian army which appeared in Syria,<sup>383</sup> Murshili sent his general Kantuzzili in order to suppress the revolt. A personal intervention of Murshili did not become necessary; the Egyptian troops were forced to withdraw from Hittite territory in Syria shortly after. If information furnished by a text belonging to the “arbitrage”<sup>384</sup> and pointing to an inner-dynastic conflict in Nuhashe could be related to this time, the rule of Tette should have ended as a consequence of the failure of the revolt. Internal quarrels led to the removal of Tette from his throne by his brother (Shummittara or Huya).<sup>385</sup> With regard to the fact that there existed several principalities in Nuhashe,<sup>386</sup> it remains uncertain whether the “prisoner, man of Nuhashe”, referred to in the annals under year 7, was Tette himself or not.<sup>387</sup> In any case, the name of this Tette is not mentioned in texts later than year 7 of Murshili II.

After the death of Sharri-Kushuh of Karkamish during year 9 of Murshili's reign the Nuhashe lands revolted again. This time Niqmadu of Qidshu/Qadesh was obviously heading the rebels. The Hittite general who was sent by Murshili against Nuhashe burnt the crops of this country. Niqmadu of Qidshu was murdered by his

31 (1926) 4 ff. (§§ 2 and 4) and E.Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1923, 78 f. But the first revolt dates back to the time of Shuppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru and should therefore refer to the reign of Sharrupshi.

381 RS 17.334 = PRU IV 54 f., copy from the time of Ini-Teshup of Karkamish.

382 KBo III 3 and dupl. (CTH 63), see H.Klengel, *Or* 32 (1963) 32–55 and GS II 27 f. (cf. especially col.I 7–11 of the text).

383 KUB XIV 17 (CTH 61), see A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 86 f. – A fragmentary letter of the king of Karkamish, KUB XIX 15 (CTH 209), mentions Tette several times and also Egypt; cf. R.Stefanini, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962) 17.

384 KUB XIX 41 (+ KUB XXXI 12), cf. CTH 63 and GS II 53.

385 Cf. the discussion of the situation by T.R.Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988) 21–28, where it is supposed that Tette was able to regain his throne after a counter-coup.

386 It should be noted that even Qadesh could be considered as belonging to the lands of Nuhashe, cf. the annals of Murshili II, year 9: KBo IV 4 I 45 ff. = A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 112 ff.

387 KUB XIV 17 II 1 ff. = A.Götze, *MVAG* 38 (1933) 82 ff. – T.R.Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988) 21–28, favours an identity of the person in question with Tette of Nuhashe.

own son, the city itself was captured.<sup>388</sup> There is no further king of Nuhashe referred to in later sources so far. During the battle of Qidshu/Qadesh the "whole land of Nuhashe" is quoted among the allies of Muwattalli II.<sup>389</sup> Hattushili III exiled Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup to Nuhashe where he was given fortified towns, a fact which could indicate that Nuhashe was considered as a faithful part of the Hittite empire.<sup>390</sup> There is no proof for a principality of Nuhashe after the rule of Tette; it seems that "Nuhashe" was now used as name of a territory.<sup>391</sup> The region was administered directly by the kings of Karkamish, who were — since the time of Niqmepa of Ugarit and his treaty with Murshili II — also in immediate control of Siyannu, i.e. a country west of Nuhashe.

*(b) Qatna.*

Qatna (Tell Mishrife northeast of Homs) had been one of the major kingdoms of Syria already during the period of the Mari texts (cf. above). Local rulers are attested by some inventory texts discovered in the Ninegal temple of Qatna. During the time of the Amarna letters Qatna was ruled by a king named Akizzi, sender of several letters addressed to the Egyptian king Amenophis IV (EA 52–56, cf. EA 57). The texts refer to the successful advance of the Hittite army in Syria and witness Akizzi as a contemporary of Aziru of Amurru and Aitak/gama of Qidshu/Qadesh. The letters of Akizzi try to demonstrate his friendship with Egypt, and in one text (EA 52) Akizzi calls himself a subordinate of Biryawaza, who administered the land of Ube/Upe for the king of Egypt.<sup>392</sup> His father and forefathers had certainly belonged to the vassals of Mittani, but after the success of Shuppiluliuma I in northern Syria he looked for support from Egypt. Afterwards Qatna was captured and plundered by the Hittites; the population was partly deported to Hatti.<sup>393</sup> The hostility of the ruler

388 Civil deportees (NAM.RA) from Nuhashe and Kinza (Qidshu) are mentioned in the treaty of Murshili II with Duppi-Teshup of Amurru: KBo V 9 II 38 ff. = J.Friedrich, MVAG 31 (1926) 18 f. They could have been captured by the Hittite army during the 9th year of Murshili II. Cf. also the treaty which was concluded by Murshili with Niqmepa of Ugarit about the same time: RS 17.79+374 = PRU IV 96 ff. (booty from Nuhashe), and RS 17.349B = PRU IV 87 f. (Nuhashe among enemies).

389 A.Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960, 8; cf. J.H.Breasted, AR III § 309.

390 Cf. GS II 30 and H.Otten, StBoT 24 (1981) 24 f. (col. IV 32). KUB XVI 32 (CTH 852, oracle) mentions Urhi-Teshup in connection with the land of Niya, which formed part of the Nuhashe area.

391 Niya (Ni'i) appears also in the fragmentary text (letter?) KUB XXI 39 (CTH 98), cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2, Heidelberg 1989, 438 f. (no. 328), where the mention of Benteshina (of Amurru) could indicate a date about the reign of Hattushili III.

392 For Biryawaza and his position cf. the discussion in W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus. A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.*, Winona Lake 1987, 68 f. The function of Biryawaza is not yet to define with certainty.

393 KBo I 1 (CTH 51, treaty Shuppiluliuma I — Shattiwaza) obv. 37.

of Qatna against the Hittites is not mentioned; obviously the conquest of Qatna was considered by the Hittites as a consequence of their fight against Aki-Teshup and Akiya and for the domination of the Mittanian zone of Syria. Archaeological investigations at Tell Mishrife have yielded traces of destruction which could be connected with this event.<sup>394</sup> The fate of Akizzi is not known, and there is also no textual evidence for a major settlement; the mention of Qatna in topographical lists of the Egyptian kings<sup>395</sup> is no proof for the continuity of Qatna as a major centre in Syria but for a "historical topography" which had become traditional in Egypt.

*Between Hatti and Egypt: Qidshu/Qadesh and Amurru.*

*(a) Qidshu (Kinza, Qadesh).*

The settlement at Tell Nebi Mend on the Orontes<sup>396</sup> is mentioned in textual sources since the time of Tuthmosis III, when the ruler of Qadesh headed a coalition of Syrian and Palestinian princes battling with the pharaoh at Megiddo (cf. GS II 156–160). Afterwards Qadesh became a stronghold of Egyptian influence in Syria; it was governed by local kings, one of whom, *Durusha*, is mentioned by name in the inventories of Qatna (cf. GS II 144).

As far as the period in question is concerned, *Aitagama* (E/Itakama) is attested as being politically active by both the Amarna letters and the texts from Boghazköy (GS II 144–149). An identity of the *Aitagama* mentioned in these texts would imply that he was corresponding with Egypt already at the time when his father Shutatarra was still alive, i.e. that he was a co-regent before returning to the throne as a king. If so, then *Aitagama* was a contemporary of the rulers referred to in the introduction of the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza and also those linked with him in the Amarna letters, among them Shuppiluliuma I and Murshili II of Hatti, Akizzi of Qatna, Aziru of Amurru, etc. The first fighting against the Hittites was not successful; Shutatarra and *Aitagama* were taken prisoner and deported to Hatti.<sup>397</sup> The Amarna letters mention only *Aitagama*, and one text (EA 151) points to a rule of *Aitagama* in Qadesh after the Hittite army had left Syria again and before Karkamish was

394 Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrife-Qatna*, Paris 1935, 33 f., cf. GS II 135 f. A new archaeological research should try to establish a clear stratigraphy in order to gain arguments for dating.

395 Simons, Lists XII a 11, c 15 (Horemheb), XIII 30, XIV 28 (Seti I), Jirku, Listen XIV 11, XX 11, XXII b (Ramses II), K.A.Kitchen, Or 34 (1965) 6 (Ramses II), Jirku, Listen XXIV A 7 (Ramses III, = Simons, Lists XXX 7).

396 Two campaigns of digging were directed by M.Péard 1921 and 1922, cf. M.Péard, *Qadesh*, Paris 1931 and Syria 3 (1922) 89–115. In 1975 a British expedition started excavations, cf. P.Parr, AfO 26 (1978–1979) 160–162, and—for the epigraphic evidence—A.R.Millard, AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 201–205 and UF 8 (1976) 459 f.

397 KBo I 1 (CTH 51) obv.40 ff. The deportation of Shutatarra and *Aitagama* seems somehow strange because the rulers of Qadesh were, officially, considered as subjects of the king of Egypt. But the Hittites could be excused if we follow the statement of Shuppiluliuma that he did not intend to attack the land of Kinza/Qadesh, but Shutatarra and his son left their country in order to fight against him (on foreign soil).

besieged. This would mean that Aitagama was able to return to his city and to rule alone, certainly in agreement with the Hittites who did not want to offend the Egyptian overlords of Qadesh.<sup>398</sup> His rule ended during the year 9 of Murshili II, after about 28 years.<sup>399</sup> He was murdered by his own son when a rebellion against the Hittites failed.

As was successfully done by Aziru of Amurru, Aitagama also tried to make his political profit from the position of Qadesh in the border area between Hittite and Egyptian Syria. The north being in the hands of the Hittites, Aitagama extended his influence toward the south, i.e. into Egyptian territory. He was accused by Akizzi of Qatna to have concluded an alliance with the local rulers Te'uwatti of Lapana and Arzawiya of Ruhizzi, whose territories were located close to the northern Biqa'.<sup>400</sup> It was probably this attack which caused Biryawaza of Ube to begin hostilities against Qadesh. Aitagama complained (EA 189) that Biryawaza slandered him, took his paternal house and burnt down settlements belonging to Qadesh. He assures the Egyptian king of his fidelity and that all what he is doing would be done for the sake of the pharaoh. A quite contrary picture is given by Biryawaza, who accused Aitagama of having seized one of the settlements of his territory, Shaddu, in co-operation with troops from Amurru.<sup>401</sup> Aitagama and Aziru had a vital and common interest in the land of Amka, i.e. the central part of the valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon south of Baalbek.<sup>402</sup> Amka was a rather densely populated and fertile region with an important trade route running from central Syria to Palestine and Egypt. While Aziru was in control of the coastal area, Aitagama dominated the northeastern access to the Biqa'. As it seems, Aziru had confidence in Aitagama and placed troops at his disposal (cf. EA 140). After having captured and burnt down settlements in the northern Biqa' (EA 174-176, 363), Aitagama marched northward in order to make contact with the Hittites.

The chronology of the events recorded in the Amarna letters is still under discussion. The sequence of the activities of Aitagama is therefore not definitely established. The same is true for the combination of the Amarna material with the information furnished by the Hittite sources. During the "one-year-campaign" of Shuppiluliuma I Qadesh was among the adversaries of the Hittites. Albeit belonging to the Egyptian zone, the prince of Qadesh felt insecure enough to oppose the

398 The solution of the chronological problems connected with the evidence from Amarna and Boghazköy would affect also the history of Qadesh, cf. already GS II 170 notes 2, 5 and 7.

399 K.A.Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool 1962, 25, estimated a period of about 25 years.

400 EA 53, 54, cf. EA 56. For Lapana and Ruhizzi cf. GS III 60 f. and 78.

401 The presence of troops from Amurru in the region of Qidshu/Qadesh is also indicated by EA 55, 161 and 165-167. The letters refer to an advance of Aziru as far as Tunip which should have touched upon territory of Qadesh. According to EA 107 Aziru was in Ube where he had a meeting with his "brothers" in Damascus.

402 For the land of Amka/Amqu cf. GS III 58 f. and A.Kuschke, *Eretz Israel* 15 (1981) 39-45, for the topography of the Biqa' see M.Weippert, in: *Archäologie und Altes Testament* (Fs K.Galling), Tübingen 1970, 259-272.

Hittites.<sup>403</sup> It is still uncertain if a fragment of the "Deeds of Shuppiluliuma" referring to Qadesh which was burnt down should be connected with these events.<sup>404</sup> In the introduction to the Tette treaty<sup>405</sup> Qadesh appears as a potential enemy of Shuppiluliuma. The attempt of Egypt to regain dominance in the region of Qadesh was perhaps the legitimation for the Hittites to invade Syria again.<sup>406</sup> While Shuppiluliuma besieged Karkamish, the last stronghold of Mittani west of the Euphrates, his generals Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma attacked the land of Amka, i.e. Egyptian territory. In the retrospective introduction to the Duppi-Teshup treaty<sup>407</sup> Qadesh and Nuhashe are mentioned as rebels against the Hittites. The suppression of this revolt against Murshili II is not recorded but was perhaps executed by the viceroy of Karkamish. The same text also refers to the rebellion against Murshili II, where Aziru was again on the side of the Hittites, while the king of Qadesh was backed by the Egyptians. The revolt could be connected with the events of the 7th year of Murshili II. Aitagama is witnessed by the annals of Murshili for year 9, when another uprising of Nuhashe took place.<sup>408</sup> He was murdered by his son, who was – as it seems – impressed by the Hittite reaction to the insurrection in Syria. The son was perhaps inclined to become an ally of the Hittite king; the murder was therefore excused by Murshili II in his report as the work of the gods of the oath once sworn between Qadesh and Hatti.

The successor of Aitagama was Niqmadu. It was him who killed his father, but could not prevent himself from being captured by the Hittites. He was taken prisoner and brought before the Great King who was staying at that time in Ashtata on the Euphrates. The pertinent passage of the annals already gives Niqmadu the title of a king of Kinza/Qadesh,<sup>409</sup> albeit in a retrospective passage. Thus Niqmadu began his rule during the 9th year of Murshili II; the end of his reign is not recorded in the written sources so far.

Several letters which were discovered in Ugarit, but were sent from Qadesh,<sup>410</sup> could belong to the time of Niqmadu. The addressee should have been the king of Ugarit, Ammistamru II (cf. Ugaritica V no.40), resp. one of his officials. The texts demonstrate the close relations between the various cities and their rulers. In one of

403 KBo I 1 (CTH 51) obv. 40 ff. and KBo X 12 (CTH 49) I 15. A small historical fragment, KBo XXII 8, mentions the city of Kinza/Qadesh in connection with horses and "lords".

404 KUB XIX 7 (CTH 40), see H.G.Güterbock, JCS 10 (1956) 85, fragment 27, and cf. K.A.Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool 1962, 44, also GS II 168.

405 KBo I 4 + KUB III 10 (CTH 53) II 14 f.

406 KBo V 6 and dupl.(CTH 40) II 21 ff. = H.G.Güterbock, JCS 10 (1956) 90 ff. ("Deeds of Shuppiluliuma", fragment 28).

407 KUB III 14 and KUB III 119(+) and dupl.(CTH 62), cf. GS II 148 f.

408 KBo IV 4 (CTH 61) II 3 ff., see A.Götze, MVAG 38 (1933) 112 f.

409 KBo IV 4 (CTH 61) II 63–66.; A.Götze, *ibid.* 120 f., cf. the duplicate KBo XVI 7. The name of this king of Qadesh was formerly read as Ari-Teshup, cf. for the problem GS II 150 and A.R.Millard, AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 202.

410 Ugaritica V nos.38–40: RS 20.16 (cf. already GS II 150), 20.172 and 20.200B. For RS 34.146 (Ugaritica VII pl.28) cf. A.R.Millard, AAAS 29–30 (1979–1980) 202.

these letters the sender calls the king of Ugarit his "brother".<sup>411</sup> If it is correct that the sender of a letter to Niqmadu of Qadesh was really Talmi-Sharruma, king of Halab,<sup>412</sup> then a contact with this north Syrian centre would be witnessed.

As far as the relations with Egypt were concerned, the pharaohs tried to reinforce their influence in Qadesh. Evidence comes from the time when Niqmadu was already deceased. Horemheb mentions Qadesh in his topographical list in the Amun temple of Karnak<sup>413</sup> and boasted to have successfully campaigned in Syria (cf. above). Seti I erected a stela at Qadesh — if the stone was not removed from another place later on,<sup>414</sup> which is probably to be connected with a relief from Karnak with a view of the town and the inscription "land of Qadesh of the land Amurru".<sup>415</sup> Qadesh appears furthermore, but with no importance as to political history, in the topographical lists of this pharaoh.<sup>416</sup> It is not known if there was a king of Qadesh at this time. The city remained under Hittite dominance, as is indicated by the fact that Qadesh is mentioned among the auxiliaries of the Hittites during the battle of Qadesh (1275).<sup>417</sup> The fighting itself took place on territory belonging to Qadesh. It remains uncertain if Ramses II really succeeded in penetrating into Syria as far as Qadesh during the years following the battle.<sup>418</sup> It seems that Qadesh was destroyed definitely during the time when the "Sea Peoples" arrived in central Syria, i.e. during the early 12th century B.C.

### (b) *Amurru*.

The land of Amurru is mentioned in the cuneiform tradition from the middle of the 3rd millennium (MAR.TU), then denoting a direction (west) as seen from Meso-

411 RS 20.172. — The same is done in a letter to Niqmepa of Ugarit sent from his "brother" Niqmadu, RS 17.315 = PRU IV 111, concerning a fugitive. The sender was identified as the king of Qadesh by A.R. Millard, AAAS 29-30 (1979-1980) 202, but as a physical brother of the king by E. Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 81. A fragmentary letter discovered in Ugarit during the campaign of 1980 indicated contacts between the kings of Qadesh and Ugarit, but the date of the text is not certain: RS 1980/387, cf. D. Arnaud, Syria 59 (1982) 221. The same is true for an alphabetic text unearthed during the excavations at Tell Nebi Mend, which proves that in Qadesh a shorter variant of the Ugaritic alphabetic script was in use, cf. A.R. Millard, UF 8 (1976) 459 f.

412 A.R. Millard, AAAS 29-30 (1979-1980) 202, identifies the land of Halpa with Halab (Aleppo), not with a smaller settlement as referred to by C.F.-A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica V (1968) 684-686.

413 Simons, Lists XII a 10, c 14.

414 M. Pézard, Syria 3 (1922) 108 ff., cf. GS II 150 f.

415 J.H. Breasted, AR III § 141, cf. W. Helck, Beziehungen (1962) 338 ff. and GS II 150.

416 Simons, Lists XIII 28, XIV [26], XV 31, XVII 3, cf. GS II 151.

417 See above and GS II 151. Kinza/Qadesh appears also in a letter of Ramses II to Hattushili III dealing with events of this time: KBo I 15+19 and dupl. (CTH 156) = E. Edel, ZA 15 (1950) 195 ff. and GS II 151 f. Cf. also the letter KUB III 124 (CTH 170), time of Ramses II (the name of Qadesh in a broken context).

418 The mention of Qadesh in topographical lists of Ramses II and Ramses III has — taken as single argument — no bearing on the political history. The same is true for the evidence for Qadesh in some Hittite religious texts, see GS II 152 f.



potamia, especially the region west of the middle Euphrates (cf. also the Ebla texts). Afterwards, „Amurru” was applied to peoples or tribal groups coming from this direction into Mesopotamia. About the middle of the 2nd millennium Amurru was the name of a geographical entity located between the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and the plain of Homs. This area belonged to the Egyptian sphere of Syria at least since the campaigns of Tuthmosis III to Asia. Egyptian sources refer to Amurru as a wealthy region, and its economic and social development is reflected in the Amarna letters.<sup>419</sup> The plain of Amurru was densely settled but its woodlands also offered refuge to all those who were socially uprooted. The emergence of Amurru as a special entity and well defined state was favoured by the political situation which developed about the middle of the 14th century, especially by the rivalry between the urban centres and by the Hittite invasion of the Mittanian zone of Syria. The Amarna letters are the best witness for the initial phases of this new principality, although they offer many problems as far as their chronology and reliability are concerned.<sup>420</sup>

The formation of the kingdom of Amurru was connected with the military and political activities of Abdi'ashirta and his sons, among them Aziru. It was Aziru who succeeded — as a servant of two overlords at the same time — in receiving official recognition as king of Amurru. The details as they are provided by the Amarna correspondence and Hittite documents have already been discussed.<sup>421</sup> The subject of the following outline is only the political history of the state of Amurru; it should therefore begin with the time of Aziru, who was considered as the founder of the Amurru dynasty by his own successors.<sup>422</sup>

Aziru was one of the “sons of Abdi'ashirta”; he is often referred to in the Amarna letters (cf. GS II 191–208). At least three of his brothers are known by name: Ba'aluya, Pubahla, and perhaps Niqmepa. After the death of Abdi'ashirta,<sup>423</sup> Aziru was the most active of these sons. The pertinent sources could be dated to the later years of Amenophis IV; his death (cf. GS II 264 f.) occurred during the time of Murshili II, about the years 7 or 8 of this ruler. Direct synchronisms link Aziru with Shuppiluliuma I and Murshili II of Hatti, Ammistamru I and Niqmadu II of Ugarit (RS 19.68), Aitagama of Qidshu/Qadesh (EA 140, 162), Akizzi of Qatna (EA 55), Rib-Adda of Gubla/Byblos (EA 102 ff. and 162) and a number of other local rulers or mayors mentioned in the Amarna letters.<sup>424</sup>

419 Cf. A. Altman, *Bar Ilan Studies in History*, Ramat Gan 1978, 3–24.

420 For this problem see W.L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 47–56.

421 See H. Klengel, *MIO* 10 (1964) 57–83 and GS II 245–299; M. Liverani, in: O. Carruba — M. Liverani — C. Zaccagnini (eds.), *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore* (*Studia mediterranea*, 4), Pavia 1983, 93–121.

422 Cf. the seal used by Aziru and his successors: Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (1956) 30 ff.

423 According to A. Altman, *UF* 9 (1977) 1–10, Abdi'ashirta was taken prisoner by an Egyptian “task force”. He was deported to Egypt, where he obviously died soon afterwards without having had the chance to return to Amurru. Cf. also GS II 257 f.

424 As far as Syrian rulers are concerned, the following could be mentioned: Yapah-Addi of Beruta or Tyre (EA 98, 103, 105, 106, 114, 116, 118), Zimrida/Zimredda of Sidon (EA

It is not possible to determine exactly the date for the beginning of the rule of Aziru as king of Amurru. Officially, this depended on the authorization by the overlords.<sup>425</sup> Perhaps the capture of Sumura in the Akkar plain, residence of the Egyptian official representing the pharaoh,<sup>426</sup> could be considered as a decisive turning-point in the career of Aziru. In order to conquer this city, Aziru needed the support of the Habiru and of ships from Arwada (Ruad). A letter of Rib-Adda (EA 106) dating to the time of the siege of Sumura mentions the death of the Egyptian official (cf. GS II 269 f.). A letter from Aziru himself (EA 157) points to the "great" of Sumura who would be not willing to accept him as "servant" of the pharaoh. Ships of Arwada blocked the access to Sumura from the sea (EA 105); they also helped Aziru to seize Ullaza and to capture ships of Rib-Adda. Ships from Surri/Tyre, Beruta/Beirut and Siduna/Sidon anchored at Wahliya (between Sumura and Gubla, perhaps Tripoli) and prevented Gubla from supporting the besieged Sumura (EA 114, cf. EA 98). As it becomes evident,<sup>427</sup> the rivalry and enmity between the coastal centres were favourable for Aziru and his political intentions, although it is to be doubted that Rib-Adda is always right when relating the hostile acts of other centres to the activities of Aziru.<sup>428</sup> According to EA 104, the towns of Ardata, Wahliya, Ambi and Shigata, located between Sumura and Batruna,<sup>429</sup> were already under the control of Aziru during the time when Sumura was besieged. That the siege of Sumura lasted for about two months, is indicated by EA 114:32 ff. Irqata,<sup>430</sup> the elders of which sent a letter to the Egyptian king pointing to a menace by an enemy, possibly Aziru (EA

103, 106, 147, 149, 151, 154), Ammunira/Hammuniri of Beruta (EA 136–138), Abimilki of Tyre (EA 147, 149, 151, 154), Biryawaza of Kumidi and/or Ube (EA 151, 197), Arzawiya/Arsa(w)uya of Ruhizzi (EA 197) and Biridashwa of Yanu'ammu (EA 197).

425 Cf. the designation of Aziru as "man" of Amurru by the pharaoh (EA 162) and the treaty with Shuppiluliuma I of Hatti (CTH 49).

426 H. Klengel, *Klio* 66 (1984) 5–18, cf. GS III 9 f. The ancient Sumura could be located at Tell Kazel, cf. already M. Dunand - N. Saliby, *AAAS* 7 (1957) 3–16, and M. Dunand - A. Bounni - N. Saliby, *AAAS* 14 (1964) 3–14.

427 See also a number of letters which intended to demonstrate that the rulers of the cities south of Gubla were on the side of Aziru: EA 103, 105, 106, 114, 116, 118, cf. EA 147–149, 151, 154.

428 Cf. M. Liverani, *AoF* 1 (1974) 175–205.

429 Ardata (EA 109) is certainly to be identified as Arde, 7 kms southeast of Tripoli, cf. GS III 12 f. and the excavation reports of H. Salamé-Sarkis, *MUSJ* 1972, 123–145, and id., *BMB* 26 (1973) 99–102. Wahliya should perhaps be identified with modern Tripoli, cf. GS III 13 and W. L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 603 (cf. EA 114). Ambi is obviously modern Enfe between Tripoli and Batrun, cf. GS III 14. Shigata (cf. EA 98 and 102) should be Shekka/Shaqqa near Batrun, cf. GS III 14 f.

430 Tell Arqa, cf. GS III 11 f. and the excavation report given by J.-P. Thalmann, *Syria* 55 (1978) 1–153. The murder of the rulers of Ammiya, Ardata and Irqata, connected with the activities of Aziru in the retrospective of two letters of Rib-Adda (EA 139, 140), should be dated to the time when Abdi'ashirta was still alive. The accusation is only intended to incriminate Aziru (cf. also EA 75). K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, Liverpool 1962, 21 n.1, assumed that it was indeed Aziru, heading a group of mercenaries, who killed these rulers by order of Abdi'ashirta.

100), was taken by Aziru soon after. During the siege of Sumura Aziru travelled to Damascus in order to confer with his "brothers" (EA 107). The conquest of Sumura is recorded in several Amarna letters.<sup>431</sup> A letter from Rib-Adda (EA 132) blames Haip/Haapi, an Egyptian official and perhaps the son of the former commissary (*rabisu*) of Sumura, for having placed Sumura in the hands of Aziru, while Abimilki of Tyre tried to involve his rival Zimrida of Sidon in the case (EA 149). The texts which concerned the seizure of Sumura by Aziru are still discussed with regard to their chronological sequence and reliability, but it seems likely that the opposition against Aziru and his Habiru troops came mainly from the local aristocracy, the "great" of Sumura (cf. EA 157). During the siege and conquest Sumura was partly destroyed, as is indicated by some replies of Aziru to the Egyptian demand for a reconstruction of the city.<sup>432</sup> About this time Aziru was not yet acknowledged as king of Amurru by the king of Egypt (cf. EA 159), and it is possible that the restoration of Sumur was a *conditio sine qua non*, because the destruction affected the Egyptian authority in Syria and was therefore considered as a serious matter.

At the same time Aziru was anxious to be on good terms with the dominant power in the north, Hatti. In one of his letters (EA 157) he asked the Egyptian court for support against the advance of the Hittites, obviously during the "one-year-campaign" of Shuppiluliuma I. On the other hand, Aziru was blamed by the Egyptians for having treated a Hittite messenger better than an emissary of the pharaoh (EA 161). The presence of the Hittites in the land of Nuhashe (EA 164-167), i.e. in the neighbourhood of Amurru, caused Aziru to make contact with the Hittite king, probably at the time when Aziru was in Tunip (EA 161). This was considered as a submission to the Hittite king; the later treaty mentions explicitly that Aziru came for submission "from the boundary of Egypt",<sup>433</sup> i.e. from Amurru.

Aziru's worst enemy was the mayor of Gubla/Byblos, Rib-Adda. Most of the texts pertaining to the political activities of Aziru in the Syrian littoral were written by this local ruler, who had also controlled the hinterland of Gubla as far as the Akkar plain. The statement of Rib-Adda (EA 98) that all countries between Gubla and Ugarit would be in the service of Aziru, made during the time when Aziru was besieging Sumura, could be an exaggeration but shows the rising influence of Aziru in this region. Other letters emphasize that all rulers of Amurru would agree with Aziru with regard to his hostile behaviour towards Rib-Adda.<sup>434</sup> Even the settlements belonging directly to the territory of Gubla are said to have become adversaries of the ruler of Gubla (EA 116), and only Gubla itself would still obey Rib-Adda (EA 124-127). Social conflicts, which were intensified by the political situation, and a growing

431 EA 116, 124, 131, 133, 138 (all from Rib-Adda), EA 139, 140 (from Ilirapih), EA 149 (from Abimilki of Tyre).

432 EA 159-161; for the policy of Aziru as reflected by these letters cf. M.Liverani, in: O.Carruba - M.Liverani - C.Zaccagnini (eds.), *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore* (Studia mediterranea, 4), Pavia 1983, 100-103.

433 KBo X 12(+)13 I 18-21 (CTH 49, Hittite version of the Aziru treaty).

434 EA 109, 114, 116, 125 and 126.

opposition in the city itself weakened the position of Rib-Adda.<sup>435</sup> Even when taking into consideration the political purpose and the literary style of these letters, the further development justified the negative prognosis of Rib-Adda: He was forced to leave his residential city and to take refuge in Beruta. This is clearly shown by letters of Rib-Adda written during his exile (EA 136–138) and a letter of Ammunira of Beruta (EA 142), furthermore by a summary of events given in a letter from the king of Egypt to Aziru later on (EA 162). Rib-Adda's own brother headed the opposition in Gubla and forced the mayor to leave the city; he was therefore accused by Rib-Adda of conspiring with Aziru. But Aziru did not enter the former residence of his enemy, and Gubla was not integrated into the territory of Amurru later on. EA 162:2 ff. even points to the hope of Rib-Adda to return to Gubla with the help of Aziru. As it seems, Rib-Adda never regained his position in Gubla; he died (or was murdered) in exile.

These events could have caused Aziru to obey the order of the king of Egypt to come to the court of the pharaoh.<sup>436</sup> Aziru left Amurru for Egypt obviously after the Hittites had returned to Anatolia because of the end of the "fighting-season". As far as Amurru was concerned, Aziru was temporarily substituted by his brother Ba'aluya (cf. EA 170). There are three Amarna letters which pertain to the stay of Aziru in Egypt (EA 140, 169 and 170). Possibly his absence from Amurru lasted for several months (cf. GS II 280 f.). During this period Amurru was in political conflict with the kings of Nuhashe (EA 169, 170, cf. EA 160, 161); seemingly the stay of Aziru in Egypt was considered as an act of faithlessness by the Hittites and/or their Syrian vassals. On the other hand, the son of Aziru was accused of having sold his father for gold to Egypt (EA 169). Date and reasons for the return of Aziru to Amurru are not clearly indicated. But after having demonstrated his loyalty to the (new) king of Egypt, he hurried back to Amurru which was obviously affected by military operations in central Syria (cf. GS II 282 f.). The agreement with Niqmadu II of Ugarit should be dated to the time between his return to Amurru and his treaty with Hatti.<sup>437</sup>

The territory controlled by Aziru at the time when he became officially a vassal seems to have bordered on Gubla somewhere in the area of modern Tripoli. As far as the frontier in the north is concerned, Ugarit was clearly outside. Siyannu-Ushnatu also belonged to the kingdom of Ugarit during the reign of Niqmadu II. Arwad (Ruad) apparently was a confederate, not a dependent city.<sup>438</sup> It is therefore possible that the northern border — if there was a border in a stricter sense at all — of Amurru ran north of modern Tartus. The coastal towns as Ullaza, Irqata, Ardata, Ammiya, Ambi, Wahliya, Shigata and Batruna were at least depending on Aziru, who was in control of the fertile Akkar plain and the best access to inland Syria. The dominant centre of Amurru was certainly Sumura, at that time closer to the seashore than Tell

435 Cf. A. Altman, *Bar Ilan Studies in History*, Ramat Gan 1978, 3–24; W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit*, Berlin 1980, 75 ff.

436 See EA 162:42 ff., where it is said that Aziru had asked the pharaoh to postpone the date for his visit to Egypt for one year.

437 RS 19.68 = PRU IV 284 ff., cf. GS II 284 f.

438 Cf. EA 105 and 149, also EA 98 and 126.

Kazal is today. The extension of Amurru into inland Syria is not known. An Amarna letter (EA 162) indicates that Qidshu/Qadesh was outside of the state of Amurru, and the northern Biqa' should be eliminated from Aziru's kingdom too (cf. EA 174-176, 363). On the other hand, Tunip in or near the Orontes valley was under the control of Aziru at least for some time (EA 161, 165-167).

Up to now there is no proof of a permanent residence of Aziru, a "capital". Perhaps Sumura was the most important town because of its strategic position and its role of an administrative centre of the Egyptians. A town named Amurru is not evidenced, although some scribes used the determinative URU for this geographical or political designation; it is also possible that the "town Amurru" was sometimes used for the central place of Amurru.<sup>439</sup>

It was primarily the geo-political position of Amurru which gave this principality its weight in the history of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. The kings of Hatti and Egypt had a special interest in this region, and Aziru was successful in serving two overlords. As long as Aziru played his double game well enough he was, as it seems, consciously accepted by both powerful rulers. The treaty of Shuppiluliuma with Aziru — concluded after the capture of Karkamish which eliminated Mittanian influence in northern Syria — is handed down in a Hittite and an Akkadian version.<sup>440</sup> The text was formulated in the same way as the treaty with Tette of Nuhashe, who obviously swore the oath with Shuppiluliuma I about the same time (CTH 53). By the treaty of Aziru Amurru became officially a state dependent on Hatti; the kingdom formed the southernmost vassal state of the Hittites, bordering on the Egyptian zone of Syria.<sup>441</sup> The document fixed the principles for the political relations between Hatti and Amurru, valid also for the future. Although Duppi-Teshup, Benteshina and Shaushga-muwa of Amurru received their own treaties, the Aziru treaty nevertheless was the basis for all of them. Furthermore, Aziru was considered as the real founder of the dynasty, which is demonstrated also by the use of his seal as a "dynastic seal" later on (Ari-Teshup, Shaushga-muwa). The stipulations of the treaty obliged Aziru to protect and to support his overlord, the land of Hatti and the descendants of the Great King. He had to deliver a yearly tribute of 300 shekels of gold, of the best quality, and of precious stones. It is stated explicitly that this gold should be measured with the "(weighting) stones of the merchants of the land Hatti". Aziru is asked to appear regularly (in principle: yearly) before the Hittite king; in practice this demand was fulfilled not very often by the vassals. The historical retrospective which follows is very short if compared with other treaties — contrary to those kings who belonged to a dynasty ruling the country for a longer time, Aziru had practically no forefathers in his royal position. The occasion when Aziru's military help was wanted is explained in more detail and with the reference to

439 Recently it was proposed to identify this city with Sumur, cf. R.R.Stieglitz, JNES 50 (1991) 45-48.

440 KUB III 7+ and dupl. (Akkadian), KBo X 12(+)13 (Hittite), cf. CTH 49 and GS II 205 (unpublished fragments are now edited in KBo XXVIII as nos. 118, 119 and 140).

441 Cf. KUB XIX 9 (CTH 83, text concerning the campaigns of Shuppiluliuma I) I 12 f., and KBo VI 28+ (CTH 88, decree of Hattushili III) line 22.

potential enemies by their names. Refugees had to be extradited to the overlord, among them people from Hurri, Qidshu/Qadesh, Niya and Nuhashe. The same should happen with persons who defamed the Hittite king. Aziru is forbidden to turn to any other king; without mentioning him, the treaty obviously points especially to the pharaoh. It is possible that also a territorial regulation (or confirmation) was part of the treaty, perhaps laid down on a separate tablet.<sup>442</sup>

Later documents demonstrate that Aziru remained loyal to his Hittite overlords, but this did not prevent him from paying a tribute to the king of Egypt at the same time.<sup>443</sup> When Qidshu/Qadesh and Nuhashe rebelled against Hatti about the time of the death of Shuppiluliuma, Aziru sided with the Great King;<sup>444</sup> he did the same when the Syrian neighbours, Qadesh and Nuhashe, revolted again. But by then Aziru had been replaced on the battlefield by his son Ari-Teshup. Although it is not to be excluded that the report on the loyalty of Aziru was a later exaggeration for didactic purposes, i.e. to demonstrate the faithfulness of the founder of the dynasty, there is up to now no hint to a conflict between Aziru and the king of Hatti since the time when Aziru became a Hittite vassal with a formal treaty.

The successor of Aziru was his son Ari-Teshup (DU/SUM-Teshup)<sup>445</sup>, who is only poorly attested by textual sources so far (cf. GS II 208 f.). The genealogy Aziru – Ari-Teshup – (- Duppi-Teshup – Benteshina) is confirmed by the later treaties with Duppi-Teshup and Benteshina (CTH 62 and 92). As it seems, Aziru had no other sons,<sup>446</sup> and if this is proved right, it should have been Ari-Teshup who addressed a letter to an Egyptian official during the time when Aziru stayed in Egypt (EA 169).<sup>447</sup> Afterwards Ari-Teshup had to wait for about a decade until ascending to the throne of his father, after having acted as a kind of co-regent with him. He ruled for a short period, because his son Duppi-Teshup succeeded him during the year 9 of Murshili II. This could mean that his reign lasted not longer than 2 years; perhaps this could explain why nearly nothing is known about his reign.

Ari-Teshup recommended his son Duppi-Teshup to Murshili II as his future successor.<sup>448</sup> He married his daughter Ahatmilki to a prince of Ugarit, Niqmepa

442 Cf. the treaty of Hattushili III with Benteshina, KBo I 8+ (CTH 92) obv.4–6 and 28–30, where it is said that the Benteshina treaty was drawn up according to the treaty with Aziru.

443 KUB III 119 (CTH 62, treaty of Murshili II with Duppi-Teshup of Amurru) I 3 f. Another text, KBo III 3 (CTH 63, Barga affair) II 45 ff. and III 1 ff., could point to a rather delayed extradition of NAMRA people to Hatti.

444 See the introductions to the treaties with Duppi-Teshup (CTH 62), Benteshina (CTH 92) and Shaushga-muwa (CTH 105).

445 In KBo I 8+ (CTH 92) instead of DU is written SUM, cf. E.Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, 221 no.1736.

446 In EA 156:8 Aziru assures the addressee of the fidelity of his sons and successors, but this topos is no convincing argument in favour of the existence of further sons at that time.

447 The name of the sender is broken off, cf. also EA 162:42 ff., where the Egyptian court declares its consent to welcome also the son of Aziru in case it was impossible for he himself to appear.

448 KBo V 9 (CTH 62) I 18 and II 20. Ari-Teshup probably had also other sons.

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(cf. above), and an inventory text, discovered in Ugarit, seems to concern the dowry of this daughter and was sealed with the "dynastic" seal of Amurru.<sup>449</sup> In any case, Ari-Teshup seemed to be on good terms with Ugarit.<sup>450</sup>

The reign of Duppi-Teshup, son and successor of Ari-Teshup, is witnessed only in texts from Hattusha so far (cf. GS II 209–212). His accession to the throne is mentioned in the introduction to the vassal treaty which he received from Murshili II about year 9 of this king's rule (CTH 62). The end of his reign is not recorded in the relevant sources. During the time of the battle of Qadesh, i.e. the period of Muwatalli II, Amurru was already ruled by Benteshina, son of Duppi-Teshup.

Although the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I and Aziru was, in principle, the basis for the relations with Hatti also during the reign of Duppi-Teshup, the special stipulations were updated by a new document.<sup>451</sup> This treaty is handed down in an Akkadian and a Hittite version.<sup>452</sup> The introduction refers to events of the reigns of Aziru and Ari-Teshup, then Duppi-Teshup is asked to protect the Hittite royal house and to pay a yearly tribute as was done by Aziru and Ari-Teshup (i.e. 300 shekels of gold). He is explicitly forbidden to continue paying a "tribute" also to Egypt.<sup>453</sup> Duppi-Teshup was bound to give military support to Hatti against enemies from outside and rebels as well, and also to refrain from warning adversaries when the Hittite army was approaching. Murshili II assures Duppi-Teshup of help against his enemies and to end plundering and other hostilities by Hittite auxiliary troops in

449 RS 16.146+161 = PRU III 182–186, cf. E.Lipiński, OLP 12 (1981) 79–115. The king of Ugarit in question should have been Niqmepa, who came to the throne during the 9th year of reign of Murshili II. At the time when the marriage took place the ruling king could have been Arhalba, perhaps with Niqmepa as crown prince.

450 RS 17.152 = PRU IV 214 is a letter which was perhaps sent by Ari-Teshup to Niqmepa? Another possibility would be: from Benteshina to Ammistamru II. Cf. GS II 212. A new treatment of RS 17.152 was published by F.M.Fales, OA 23 (1984) 163–166, in connection with a companion letter from a private collection referring to the same situation but addressed to the prefect of Ugarit by his colleague in Amurru. See also M.Heltzer, SEL 4 (1987) 45–55, with a slightly different interpretation of both texts.

451 No treaty with Ari-Teshup has been uncovered so far. Possibly this is due to the fact that Ari-Teshup had already died when Murshili II came to Syria to settle the Syrian affairs personally (9th year of reign).

452 KUB III 14 (Akkadian), KUB III 19 and dupl.(Hittite), cf. E.Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, Leipzig 1923, 76–79, and J.Friedrich, MVAG 31 (1926) 1–48. To the Hittite version now should be added KBo XXII 39 (with additions to cols. II and III), cf. P.Cornil – R.Lebrun, OLP 6/7 (1975–1976) 96–100, and G.F.del Monte, in: Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani, Pisa 1985, 161–167.

453 KBo V 9 (CTH 62) I 29 ff. It seems that this definite verdict was caused by the hostile actions of the Egyptians during the years 7 and 9 of Murshili II, i.e. the support given by them to Syrian rebels. In KBo XXII 39 II 8 f. it is said that in case Duppi-Teshup should become a servant of the pharaoh this would signify that he had broken the treaty with Hatti.

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Amurru.<sup>454</sup> Fugitives and enemies of the Hittite king should be extradited or denounced. In case Duppi-Teshup would not agree with a task conferred upon him by order of the overlord, he is asked to confess freely his opinion but not to neglect the demand. All instructions of the Hittite king should be kept as secret, "lands" and people should not be hindered on their route to Hatti, fugitives should not be advised to go into the mountains (and thus to withdraw from the Great King). As it becomes obvious the stipulations of the treaty pertain to certain events and procedures which occurred during the time of Aziru and/or Ari-Teshup. They seem to be a kind of comment on the general statements of the Aziru treaty, which are referred to also in the introduction of the Benteshina treaty of Hattushili III, where it is said that Duppi-Teshup was faithful to the Aziru treaty.<sup>455</sup> The same treaty is mentioned in the agreement of Murshili II with Duppi-Teshup.<sup>456</sup> In col. III 12 ff. a clause of the Aziru treaty is quoted in connection with the regulation of a NAMRA (deportees) affair in favour of Duppi-Teshup (col. II 39 ff.). According to this text, people from other Syrian countries had taken refuge in Amurru, probably in the woodlands.

No further details are known from the reign of Duppi-Teshup. It seems that he remained a loyal vassal of the Hittites and had "normal" relations with his overlord and his Syrian contemporaries.

Benteshina (Pendishenni), son and successor of Duppi-Teshup, appears in a number of texts from both Hattusha and Ugarit (cf. GS II 212-222). His rule in Amurru was determined by the Hittite-Egyptian conflict. He first tried to make profit from the position of Amurru between the competing powers as had been successfully done by Aziru. But the situation had changed. Benteshina was dethroned by Muwatalli II and, after an exile spent in northern Anatolia, reinstated by Hattushili III. Thus his reign is divided into two periods, interrupted by the rule of a certain Shapili.<sup>457</sup> That Benteshina followed his father on the throne, is witnessed by the treaty he received by Hattushili III later on (CTH 92). The beginning of his first period of reign is not determined exactly but should be placed some years before Muwatalli II battled with Ramses II at Qadesh (i.e. before the year 1275 = Ramses II year 5). Immediately after this event Benteshina was dethroned. A short time after Hattushili III had come to the throne, i.e. earlier than the year 21 of Ramses II, Benteshina was reinstated in Amurru. The treaty concluded by Tuthaliya IV of Hatti with Kurunta of Tarhuntasha, handed down on a bronze tablet, mentions Benteshina as king of Amurru among the witnesses of the text. The same document was also witnessed by the son of Benteshina, Shaushga-muwa, who is entitled as "brother-in-law of the

454 This promise of the Hittite king is connected with two restrictions: Duppi-Teshup should ask for help against the enemies, and he should supply the Hittite auxiliary troops with food – perhaps an indication for a plundering because of hunger.

455 KBo I 8+ (CTH 92) 7 ff.

456 KBo III 3 and dupl. (CTH 63), cf. GS II 210 f and 241 n.115.

457 This is briefly memorized in KUB XXI 33 (CTH 387), a fragmentary text pertaining to political affairs from the time of Hattushili III or later, cf. already P. Meriggi, WZKM 58 (1962) 70-76, and R. Stefanini, JAOS 84 (1964) 22-30 (who considered the text as a penitential prayer of Murshili II); cf. GS II 215 f.



(Great) King".<sup>458</sup> Accordingly, Benteshina was a contemporary of five (if his time as crown-prince is included) Hittite kings: Murshili II, Muwattalli II, Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup, Hattushili III, and Tuthaliya IV. During the reign of Tuthaliya IV Benteshina should have been an old man; it could be assumed that he died during the early years of Tuthaliya IV.

It is unclear whether or not Benteshina was already on the throne of Amurru when pharaoh Seti I campaigned in Asia, also attacking "Qadesh of the land of Amurru".<sup>459</sup> It is possible that the renewed military activity in Syria had caused Amurru to again strengthen the ties with Egypt, thus violating a verdict of the Duppi-Teshup treaty. Ramses II began his campaigns in Syria early in his reign (i.e. after 1279). An inscription left by him at the Nahr el-Kelb north of Beirut<sup>460</sup> points at least to one of the places where he was active. According to the introduction of the Shaushga-muwa treaty the "people of Amurru" decided to turn to the side of Ramses II, i.e. to rebel against Muwattalli II. The retrospective does not mention the name of Benteshina.<sup>461</sup> The same text refers to the fact that there followed a struggle between the kings of Hatti and Egypt for Amurru. This importance of Amurru in the conflict between the great powers is shown also by a Hittite vow on the occasion of a military expedition against Egypt and Amurru.<sup>462</sup> The text can be dated to the time immediately before the campaign of Ramses II which culminated in the battle of Qadesh and indicates that two different reactions of Amurru (i.e. of Benteshina) were considered as possible in case the information of the approach of the Hittites reached this country: resistance (and subsequent defeat) or immediate submission (and survival). Benteshina was confident that the Egyptians would be victorious and therefore he did not submit to the Hittites. Perhaps this position was influenced by the fact that Egyptian troops were already stationed on the coast of Amurru.<sup>463</sup> Muwattalli II defeated and conquered Amurru, a rebellious principality and ally of Ramses II.<sup>464</sup> Benteshina was dethroned and taken prisoner; he was declared "dead"

458 H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.* (StBoT Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden 1988, col. IV 30 ff.

459 Inscription at the northern wall of the hypostyle hall in Karnak, see J. H. Breasted, *AR III* § 141 and K. A. Kitchen, *JEA* 50 (1964) 62 f.

460 Cf. F. H. Weißbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*, Berlin - Leipzig 1922, Taf. 9.

461 KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105) I 28 ff., cf. C. Kühne - H. Otten, *StBoT* 16 (1971).

462 KBo IX 96 (CTH 590), cf. GS II 213 and J. de Roos, *Hittitische geloften*, Diss. Amsterdam 1984, 286-288 and 424-427.

463 Cf. the Egyptian "poem" 1.11, see A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford 1960, and W. Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962) 215. There is also a letter of Ramses II to Hattushili III pertaining to the events at the time of the battle of Qadesh: KBo I 15+19 (CTH 156) obv. 27. The Akkadian fragment of a letter of Ramses II, discovered in Hattusha, 415/n = KBo XXVIII 24, is now identified to be a join to KBo VIII 13 (CTH 216). Amurru is mentioned in a partly broken context (line 8).

464 Benteshina obviously supported the Egyptians, but it is not certain if it was him who sent troops called n'rni in Egyptian sources to give aid to Ramses II in the decisive phase of the battle; for discussion see O. Zouhdi, *SSEA Journal* 8 (1978) 141-142; A. R. Schul-

as is recorded in later texts,<sup>465</sup> and he was deported to Hatti. There Hattushili, brother of Muwattalli and commander of troops during the Syrian campaign,<sup>466</sup> took care of the former king of Amurru and brought him to the region of Hakmish/Hakpish in northern Anatolia, the part of Hatti governed by Hattushili. Benteshina received a household for his subsistence.<sup>467</sup> It was certainly intended by Hattushili to make use of Benteshina for his political aims later on.

In Amurru Benteshina was replaced by Shapili, who ruled from about the year 5 of Ramses II until the beginning of the reign of Hattushili III, i.e. for a maximum of 15 years. Nothing is known about his reign, a fact which could be taken as an *argumentum e silentio* for "normal" relations with his Hittite overlord and no special importance in Syrian history. The activities of Ramses II during the years 8 and 10, which seem to have touched upon the territory of Amurru, should be assigned to this time.

The second period of Benteshina's rule in Amurru began shortly after the enthronement of Hattushili III.<sup>468</sup> In the treaty between Hattushili III and Benteshina it is said that Benteshina was placed on the throne of his father; neither the earlier reign of Benteshina nor the rule of Shapili are mentioned. The only hint to the first period of Benteshina as king of Amurru is given by the mention that it was the "second time" Benteshina had ruled. Direct synchronisms connect this second period of reign with Ammistamru II of Ugarit.<sup>469</sup> Furthermore, there is an Akkadian letter, discovered in the archives of Hattusha, which furnishes a synchronism with Babylonia: Kadashman-Enlil II of Babylon was addressed by Hattushili III of Hatti because of the murder of merchants from Babylonia in Amurru and Ugarit. The Babylonian king blamed Benteshina (Bantishinni) for insulting Babylonia over a debt which "people from Akkad" owed to Amurru. Hattushili now proposes to settle the case in a lawsuit, but he points to the fact that Benteshina would be a vassal of

man, SSEA Journal 11 (1981) 7-19; G.Fecht, Gött. Miszellen 80 (1984) 26. — The defeat of Amurru is mentioned in the introduction of the Shaushga-muwa treaty, KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105) I 34 ff., also in KUB XXI 17 and dupl. (CTH 86, Armadatta) 14-20, and perhaps in KUB XXI 39 (CTH 98) 9f. The letter from a commander stationed in Amurru, RS 20.33 = Ugaritica V no.20, is now dated to a later year of Ramses II, cf. below.

465 Benteshina treaty (CTH 92) obv.11 ff., and Shaushga-muwa treaty (CTH 105) I 39, cf. also KUB XXI 33 (CTH 387) 14 f.

466 Cf. the "apology" of Hattushili III = H.Otten, StBoT 24 (1981) 16 f. (§ 9) and KUB XXI 17 (CTH 86) I 20.

467 KBo I 8+ (CTH 92) obv.13-15. This reminds one of the behaviour of Shuppiluliuma I when Shattiwaza took refuge in Hatti, where he received a "house": KBo I 1 (CTH 51) rev.12.

468 P.Meriggi, WZKM 58 (1962) 70-76, referred to Murshili III/Urhi-Teshup as the Hittite king who reinstated Benteshina in Amurru. He therefore restores the name of this king in the lacuna of KUB XXI 31:16 and comments on the fact that Hattushili is evidenced as Great King who returned Benteshina to the throne of his father after the exile.

469 RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180; RS 17.159, 17.396 = PRU IV 125 ff.

Hatti and therefore fall under the jurisdiction of the Hittite king.<sup>470</sup> In any case, the trade of Babylon with the Syrian littoral, which crossed the territories of either Amurru or Ugarit, was considered as important enough to be the subject of a correspondence between the kings of Babylonia and Hatti; the political background was a future alliance of Hatti with Babylonia against Assyria.

The treaty between Hattushili III and Benteshina<sup>471</sup> was based upon the document once signed by Aziru with Shuppiluliuma I, but was updated according to the present situation. It was a formal treaty of vassalage, but there are also indications for a familiar relationship between the partners (cf. especially obv.37 ff.). That Benteshina was closely linked with the family of Hattushili III is not only to be supposed because of his rather long stay in Anatolia and in the immediate vicinity of Hattushili, but is also shown by some letters addressed by Benteshina to the Great King and queen Puduhepa.<sup>472</sup> Benteshina married a daughter of this royal couple, Gashuliyawiya, while one of the daughters of Benteshina became the wife of Nerikkaili, son of Hattushili.<sup>473</sup> The treaty stresses the condition that Gashuliyawiya should become the queen in Amurru. This and the fact that Benteshina had already a daughter in marriageable age point to an earlier matrimony which is not mentioned in the texts so far. Hattushili insisted upon the position of his daughter not only because of another wife perhaps still alive but mainly in order to secure the succession to the throne by a son to be borne by Gashuliyawiya.

The introduction to the treaty refers to the demand of Benteshina to receive his own treaty (obv.22), i.e. besides the treaty with the dynasty sworn by Aziru. It could be assumed that Benteshina, now king of Amurru again after many years, had to strengthen his position in Amurru. It was certainly also due to this demand of Benteshina that the treaty stresses his position as the legitime ruler and forbids the questioning of the succession of his descendants (obv.30 ff.). As long as there were no sons born by Gashuliyawiya, a member of the royal family of Benteshina or another distinguished person should reign in the interim (obv.34 ff.). The special duties of Benteshina are mentioned in the following lines: He is obliged to protect Hattushili and Puduhepa as if they would belong to his own family, and to support

470 KBo I 10 + KUB III 72 (CTH 172), cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, Heidelberg 1989, 2, 281–300, no.204. For discussion see H.Klengel, in: B.Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen 1980, 189 f. In KUB VIII 79, dupl.to KUB XXVI 92 (CTH 209), Benteshina is mentioned in connection with a murder (of a merchant?) and an oath.

471 KBo I 8 + KUB III 8 + KBo XXVIII 116 and 117 (CTH 92).

472 See KBo VIII 16, KBo XXVIII 53–57, 58(?): A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, Heidelberg 1989, 2, 370–378 and 445, nos.260–266 and 334. Cf. already GS II 217 f. and KBo VIII 30 (CTH 297) = A.Hagenbuchner, *loc. cit.* 471 no.380.

473 Benteshina treaty (CTH 92) obv.18–21, cf. also KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176, letter of Puduhepa), where obv.47–52 princesses are mentioned who came from Babylon and Amurru to Hatti. For the discussion of this passage as a rhetorical question see W.Helck, *JCS* 17 (1963) 91. For Gashuliyawiya (and an earlier bearer of this name, wife of Murshili II) cf. J.Tischler, *Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawija*, Innsbruck 1981, esp.59 ff., for Nerikkaili H.Klengel, *AoF* 16 (1989) 185–188.

the Great King by military force against enemies. It is not to be excluded that the missing part of the treaty contained the obligation to pay a tribute as was fixed in the Aziru treaty.

The introduction of the Shaushga-muwa treaty bears witness to the faithful policy of Benteshina towards the Hittites during his life.<sup>474</sup> The textual evidence, especially the letters sent by him to Hattushili III and Puduhepa, corroborates this impression.<sup>475</sup> There is also the draft of a letter from queen Puduhepa, KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), where rev.3 ff. a planned visit to Amurru is reported. It seems that the queen intended to meet her daughter Gashuliyawiya; it is not known if the journey to Amurru came about.

As far as the relations with other Syrian states are concerned, no hostile actions are recorded. The king of Amurru was able to mediate in a conflict between Niqmepa of Ugarit and the Ummam Manda,<sup>476</sup> and Ammistamru II was married with a daughter of Benteshina, as is shown by later texts.<sup>477</sup> Tunip and Karkamish are mentioned in a fragmentary Akkadian letter from Hattusha together with Benteshina, but the contents are unclear (KBo XXVIII 79, cf. GS II 222).

The last king of the Amurru dynasty of the Late Bronze Age attested in the epigraphic material from Hattusha and Ugarit (cf. GS II 222–226) was Sha(w)ushga-muwa. At the time when Tuthaliya IV of Hatti concluded his treaty with Kurunta of Tarhuntasha, Shaushga-muwa was not yet king of Amurru. Together with his father Benteshina he appears among the witnesses of the treaty and is designated as “brother-in-law of the king”.<sup>478</sup> This implies that the marriage between Shaushga-muwa and a sister of Tuthaliya IV, which is referred to also in his later treaty with Tuthaliya,<sup>479</sup> had already taken place when he was a crown prince of Amurru. Perhaps this matrimony was concluded shortly before the Kurunta treaty, because it

474 KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105) I 44–47, cf. C.Kühne – H.Otten, StBoT 16 (1971) 8 f., and the mention of Benteshina, still king of Amurru, among the witnesses of the Kurunta treaty, see H.Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV. (StBoT Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden 1988, 26 f. ad IV 36.

475 The letter KUB XXVI 89 (CTH 209) mentions Qadesh, Amurru, Babylon, and Egypt; cf. R.Stefanini, La Colombaria 29 (1964–1965) 62 f., and P.Cornil – R.Lebrun, OLP 6–7 (1975–1976) 86–88. The text could belong to the second period of reign of Benteshina but seems to refer to earlier events. KUB XXVI 92 and dupl.KUB VIII 79 (CTH 209) an affair of the breaking of a tablet of Benteshina destined for the Hittite king is recorded; cf. perhaps also KUB XXI 40 (CTH 209). For the letter of Benteshina RS 19.06 = PRU VI no.1 see C.Kühne, UF 5 (1973) 185 f., who doubts the identity of this Benteshina with the king of Amurru, although with arguments which are not convincing.

476 RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180, lines 6 ff. The context of the reference to Benteshina in RS 17.406 = PRU IV 181 is too damaged as to allow any conclusion.

477 These texts pertain to the divorce of Ammistamru II from the princess of Amurru: RS 17.159, 17.396 = PRU IV 125 ff.

478 See H.Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV. (StBoT Beiheft 1), Wiesbaden 1988, 8 and 26 f. (col.IV 32).

479 KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105) II 1–3, cf. C.Kühne – H.Otten, StBoT 16 (1971) 8 f.

was Tuthaliya himself who gave his sister to Shaushga-muwa before the latter became king.<sup>480</sup> The treaty with Shaushga-muwa should be placed some time after the Kurunta treaty, i.e. Shaushga-muwa became king of Amurru during the early reign of Tuthaliya IV. The end of his reign is not attested in the relevant sources so far.

Direct synchronisms connect Shaushga-muwa with Tuthaliya IV of Hatti, Ammistamru II of Ugarit, and Ini-Teshup of Karkamish. Although it is possible that Shaushga-muwa also ruled during the time of the successors of these kings, there is no further evidence available for ruling contemporaries, except Kurunta of Tarhunta-tasha who perhaps became Great King of Hatti for a short period.<sup>481</sup> During the reign of Shaushga-muwa peaceful relations existed between Hatti and Egypt, once having been established by the treaty of Hattushili III with Ramses II. On the other hand, the expansion of the Assyrian kingdom towards the Euphrates (Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I) menaced the Hittite dominance in Syria.

This situation is reflected in the treaty concluded between Tuthaliya IV and Shaushga-muwa, handed down to us in two Hittite copies.<sup>482</sup> The enthronement of Shaushga-muwa is mentioned after a historical retrospective starting with the time when Amurru was ruled by Aziru, the founder of the dynasty. The special regulations of the treaty (col. II 1 ff.) asked Shaushga-muwa to protect the Hittite king and his successors, to denounce enemies of the Great King and to be friendly with the friends of the Great King, and enemy of his enemies. The kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria (erased: Ahhiyawa), equal in rank with the Hittite king, are referred to as possible enemies (col. IV 1 ff.). At this time, Assyria was at war with Hatti, and Shaushga-muwa was forbidden to send a merchant to Assyria or to receive/let pass merchants from this hostile country. A military contingent is demanded, consisting of infantry and chariot warriors, in order to support Tuthaliya against his adversaries. The trade with the country of Ahhiyawa (i.e. the Aegean) should be stopped, that means the landroute from the sea-shore to Assyria should be blocked up by the king of Amurru. It becomes evident that the treaty with Shaushga-muwa did not only contain basic regulations but also serve as an instrument in the policy of the day.

The documents pertaining to the reign of Shaushga-muwa provide no information as to whether the king was loyal to the treaty or not. The textual material from Ugarit, as far as Amurru is concerned, focuses on two affairs: The divorce of Ammistamru II from the daughter of Benteshina (and sister of the ruling king of Amurru), and the affair of the "daughter of the Great Lady", another princess from

480 The importance of the crown prince Shaushga-muwa during the last years of Benteshina, possibly co-regent with his father, is also indicated by the impression of his princely seal on a tablet from Ugarit, RS 19.06; see R.M. Boehmer – H.G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, Berlin 1987, 74. For the seals of Shaushga-muwa cf. C.L.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III* (1956) 30–33 and *ibid.* E. Laroche, p. 131–133.

481 Cf. the preliminary remarks of H. Otten concerning the treaty with Kurunta and some seal-impressions in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1987, 410–412, and P. Neve, *ib.* p. 403.

482 KUB XXIII 1 + 37 + XXXI 43 + 670/v and KUB VIII 82 + 1198/u + 1436/u + Bo 69/821 = C. Kühne – H. Otten, *StBoT* 16 (1971).

Amurru.<sup>483</sup> Both cases affected the relationship between two important vassal states of Hatti and the security of Hittite rule in Syria. They needed the intervention of the Great King (Tuthaliya IV) and the viceroy of Karkamish (Ini-Teshup). Other texts from Ugarit, mostly letters,<sup>484</sup> demonstrate a "normal" communication between Amurru and Ugarit during the reign of Shaushga-muwa. A Hittite fragment of a letter<sup>485</sup> mentions Amurru (rev.10) beside Karkamish and Ashur, perhaps in connection with the war, and pertains to marriage projects. The Tuthaliya of this fragment could be Tuthaliya IV, and it seems quite certain that Amurru was ruled by Shaushga-muwa at that time. Another fragment,<sup>486</sup> a letter addressed to the king, "lord" of the sender, refers to Amurru (rev.22) in connection with Egypt and troops; it could be related to a situation before Shaushga-muwa acceded to the throne.

It is not known who was ruling in Amurru, if there was a king of Amurru at all, during the time when first groups of the "Sea Peoples" pitched their camps in this region some time before the 8th year of reign of Ramses III.<sup>487</sup> The texts with references to Amurru but datable to the reign of an as yet unknown ruler (cf. GS II 226-229)<sup>488</sup> furnish no additional information on the last period of the state of Amurru and its dynasty. A letter sent to the king of Ugarit by a certain Parsu deserves attention.<sup>489</sup> The king of Ugarit is politely asked to communicate all news concerning the movements of an (unnamed) enemy, as was the custom before between Ugarit and Amurru. It becomes evident that the enemy was active not far from Ugarit, but was also a threat to Amurru. This could fit well in the situation when groups of the "Sea Peoples" were already fighting in the northeastern Mediterranean and their movements were communicated to the king of Ugarit by the ruler of Alashiya/Cyprus.



483 RS 17.159, 17.396 = PRU IV 125 ff.; RS 17.116, 16.270, 18.06 + 17.365, 17.372A + 360A, 17.228, 17.450A and 17.318+349A, 17.82 = PRU IV 132 ff.

484 RS 16.111 = PRU III 13 f.: Letter of (queen?) Ulmi to the queen of Ugarit; RS 16.116 = PRU III 10: Letter addressed to the king of Ugarit; RS 17.286 = PRU IV 180: Letter of Shaushga-muwa to Ammistamru II; RS 17.348 = PRU IV 128: Edict (of Tuthaliya?) concerning the sons of the wife of Ammistamru II, but the immediate relation to the affairs of the princesses from Amurru is still unclear, cf. GS II 224.

485 KBo XVIII 19 (CTH 209), cf. A.Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, Heidelberg 1989, 2, 207 ff. (no.160).

486 KBo XVIII 30 (CTH 188), cf. A.Hagenbuchner 93 no.59.

487 Inscription from Medinet Habu, see J.H.Breasted, AR IV § 64, and W.F.Edgerton — J.A.Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu, I-II*, Chicago 1936, 53.

488 Add RS 24.274 = Ugaritica V p.504 (Hurrian text pertaining to gods of Ugarit, Amurru and Cyprus); RS 20.04 = Ugaritica V no.100 (wine for a messenger from Amurru); KUB XLII 65 (CTH 247): Mention of 30 lions(?) as tribute from Amurru.

489 RS 20.162 = Ugaritica V no.37. According to J.Nougayrol (*ibid.*p.114), the text is to be dated after the reign of Niqmadu II of Ugarit.

*Urban centres of the south.*

The southern parts of Syria, i.e. the regions south of the plain of Homs and the Akkar plain on the sea-shore, were politically organized in a different way from the north. They were integrated into the pharaonic state and supervised by Egyptian officials (cf. already above). While the mountainous and the desert regions were, as it seems, mainly tribal territories of semi-nomadic people, the littoral of southern Syria, the valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon (Biqā'), the oasis of Dimashqi/Damascus and the fertile parts of the Hauran were split up into a number of urban centres and their territories.

The Amarna letters, which give the basic information as to the political structure in southern Syria during the period in question, also mention the names of local rulers or mayors of various cities.<sup>490</sup> For the coastal regions following rulers are known: Aduna of Irqata (EA 75, 140) was killed during the Amarna period. Afterwards the elders of the city sent a letter to the pharaoh (EA 100) pointing to their loyalty and to the enmity of the Habiru. The murder of the ruler of Irqata is referred to in a letter (EA 139) which blamed Aziru for the deed. A later local ruler of Irqata is not mentioned; obviously the city became part of the territory belonging to the Amurru state later on.<sup>491</sup> Rib-Adda of Gubla was mayor of this city during the time when Abdi'ashirta and his sons, especially Aziru, were active in the region north of the city. His letters to Egypt (EA 68-95, 101-138, 362) and other Amarna texts<sup>492</sup> give an impression of what could have happened in Gubla during his rule<sup>493</sup>. Rib-Adda was confronted with a social crisis favouring the Habiru movement and a political development leading to the emergence of Amurru as a principality of its own. He was forced to leave Gubla and to take refuge in Beruta (EA 142). The city was then governed by a brother of Rib-Adda, Ilirapih, known from letters he sent to Egypt (EA 128, 139, 140) and obviously referred to in two other letters (EA 67 and 137) as an ally of Aziru. Gubla was not included into the kingdom of Amurru but remained under Egyptian rule, a fact which could be corroborated by archaeological evidence.<sup>494</sup> As Egyptian territory, Gubla is mentioned in the Papyrus Anastasi.<sup>495</sup>

490 Cf. the index of proper names, in: W.L.Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, 573 ff.

491 For the localization of Irqata cf. GS III 11 f. and the results of the excavations on Tell 'Arqa, a site c. 20 kms north of Tripoli: J.-P.Thalmann, *Syria* 55 (1978) 1-153.

492 EA 67, 139, 140 (pertaining to or from Ilirapih), 96 (to Rib-Adda by a military commander), 98 (Yapa'-Addi to the Egyptian commissary Yanhamu), 142 (Ammunira of Beruta to Egypt); 152 (Abimilki of Tyre to Egypt), 162 (the Egyptian court to Aziru).

493 For a critical evaluation of the letters of Rib-Adda and their literary style see M.Liverani, *RA* 61 (1967) 1-18, *AoF* 1 (1974) 175-205, also *OA* 10 (1971) 253-268. Cf. GS II 425-440.

494 P.Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Paris 1929, 5 (statue of an Egyptian official), 48 f. (stelae of Ramses II) and 253 no.952 (scarab of Ramses II). Cf. also M.Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos, I*, Paris 1937, nos. 1315, 1317, 1320, 1354, 1360 and 6031. Ramses II is also connected with building activities in Gubla, cf. M.Dunand, *l.c.*, pl.XXXVII.

495 Pap.Anastasi I, XX 8 mentions Gubla and its goddess, cf. A.H.Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I/1, Leipzig 1911. According to the inscription on a stone vessel, dating

Contacts with Ugarit are evidenced by economic texts,<sup>496</sup> and a material communication with Cyprus and the Aegean is indicated by archaeological material.<sup>497</sup>

Next to Gubla/Byblos the city of Beruta /Beirut is known to have had a mayor whose name is mentioned in the Amarna letters as Ammunira/Hammuniri.<sup>498</sup> Economically, Beruta was certainly overshadowed by Gubla. This could have been the reason why Beruta participated in actions against Gubla (EA 101, 114, 118). The support asked for by Rib-Adda was not granted immediately (cf. EA 92), but only when Gubla was already weakened. Rib-Adda was given political asylum when he was forced to leave his city (EA 136, 137, 142). After the time of the Amarna letters Beruta appears several times in the texts from Ugarit, but without a bearing on political history.<sup>499</sup>

The mayor resp. local ruler of Sidon (Siduna) was Zimrida/Zimredda.<sup>500</sup> The policy of Zimrida was the same as that of other rulers of the Amarna period: Demonstrating loyalty in his letters addressed to the king of Egypt (EA 144, 145), but making his profit from the situation in and around Gubla in order to strengthen his own position in maritime trade. Hostilities against Gubla and an attack on Tyre should be seen against this background.<sup>501</sup> It seems possible that Rib-Adda took refuge in Sidon after his stay in Beruta (EA 162:12 ff.). In the texts from Ugarit there is evidence of another ruler of Sidon, Yapah-Addu.<sup>502</sup> A certain Imtu[-, king of Sidon, sent a letter to the king of Ugarit, his "brother".<sup>503</sup>

Tyre (Surri) is represented in the Amarna letters by its mayor Abimilki, sender of

to the 16th year of Horemheb, Gubla was the starting-point of an Egyptian campaign into the land of Karkamish, i.e. Hittite Syria: D.B.Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973) 36-49.

496 RS 18.05 = PRU V no.121; RS 18.25 = PRU V no.106 (the king of Gubla is referred to as owner of a ship, time of Ammurapi of Ugarit); RS 18.134 = PRU V no.159 (letter of a king of perhaps Gubla to the king of Ugarit, Ammurapi); RS 19.182 = PRU VI no.81 and RS 19.28 = PRU VI no.126. Gubla appears also in a mythological text: RS 3.63 (KTU 1.3).

497 Cf. M.Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Paris 1937, nos.1361, 1474, 1888, 1958, 2986, 3269, 6543, 6549; II, Paris 1950, nos. 7987 and 8892.

498 EA 136-138 (Rib-Adda to the pharaoh) and EA 141-143 (Ammunira to the pharaoh), cf. GS III 15-17.

499 Cf. GS II 16 f. For a Bi'ruti in texts from Ugarit which does not seem identical with Beruta cf. D.Arnaud, *Syria* 61 (1984) 15-23 (= Ras Ibn Hani?). - Beruta appears also in the Pap.Anastasi I, cf. W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962), 329.

500 GS III 17-19, EA 144 and 145 are letters from Zimrida himself.

501 EA 83, 92, 103, 106, 114, 118. According to EA 147-149, 151, 152 and 154 Sidon was able to capture Uzu/Usu, a settlement belonging to Tyre but located on the continent opposite the island. The place was important for providing Tyre with water and food. EA 85 points to a presence of the Egyptian king Amenophis III in Sidon.

502 RS 25.430, cf. J.Nougayrol, *CRAIBL* 1963, 133.

503 RS 11.723 = PRU III 9. - A goddess of Sidon is mentioned in the Kurita/Keret legend, RS 3.44 (KTU 1.14). Cf. also RS 19.182 = PRU VI no.81.



the letters EA 146–155. Further references to Tyre<sup>504</sup> could pertain to another ruler of this city. A change in the government of Tyre is reported in Rib-Adda's letter EA 89, where the residence is compared with that of the king of Ugarit because of its size and wealth. A sister of Rib-Adda, married to the mayor of Tyre, was killed when the ruler of Tyre and his family were murdered. The letters of Abimilki date to the later Amarna period; the events recorded in EA 89 should therefore be placed before the rule of Abimilki, but it is not known if it was him who dethroned his forerunner. Tyre was a rival of Sidon, and the letters of Abimilki refer to an attack by the Sidonians who succeeded in conquering Uzu, the town opposite Tyre. As far as the relations with Gubla are concerned, the position of Tyre was reserved (EA 92) or even hostile (EA 114). The texts from Ugarit point to economic contacts<sup>505</sup> which included a correspondence between the rulers as is indicated by a letter (time of Ammurapi) addressed by the king of Tyre to his "brother" in Ugarit and concerning the shipwreck of a boat sailing to Egypt.<sup>506</sup> The close contacts with Egypt are shown by stelae of Seti I and Ramses III discovered in Tyre during the excavations.<sup>507</sup> Besides, Tyre appears in topographical lists of Seti I, Ramses II(?) and Ramses III, also in the "frontier diary" of an Egyptian functionary living during the reign of Merneptah.<sup>508</sup> As it becomes clear from these few documents dating back to the time following the Amarna period, Tyre was one of the major cities on the coast, governed by a local dynasty and belonging to Egyptian Syria.

Gubla/Byblos, Beruta/Beirut, Siduna/Sidon and Surri/Tyre were the most important centres on the southern littoral of Syria during the period in question. They were separated from one another by a certain distance, but most of the territory between them should have belonged to one of these cities. Further towns are known from the area immediately south of the Akkar plain, such as Ardata, Wahliya, Ambi, Ammiya, Shigata and Batruna.<sup>509</sup> In the south, Sarepta (c.15 kms. south of Sidon)

504 GS III 19–21. For a history of Tyre also during the period in question see H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre. From the Beginning in the Second Millennium B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.E.*, Jerusalem 1973, 28 ff.(abbr. H.J.Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*).

505 Cf. RS 18.40 = PRU V no.63 (letter of Shipitba'al), RS 18.25 = PRU V no.106; RS 15.04 = PRU II no.110, etc. – The pottery of Tyre and the architectural remains testify an occupation of the site during the time in question, see P.M.Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster 1978, 6 f. and 72 f.

506 RS 18.31 = PRU V no.59. For a letter of the king of Tyre concerning an information on ships (KTU 2.38) see J.Hoftijzer, UF 11 (1979) 383–388, and M.Dietrich – O.Loretz, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/5 (1985) 507.

507 Cf. J.Leclant, Or 30 (1961) 394.

508 Seti I: Simons, Lists XIII–XVI (=Jirku, Listen VIII, IX, XII); cf. W.Helck, *Beziehungen* (1962) 202. Ramses II: Simons, Lists XX 14 and XXI 6(?); Ramses III: Simons, Lists XXVII 121 (=Jirku, Listen XXII), cf. W.Helck, Lc. 252. – For Pap.Anastasi III rev.6, 1 ff. cf. E.Edel in: K.Galling (ed.), *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, Tübingen 1968, 37 ff.

509 Cf. also the settlements mentioned in a list of Ramses II: A.Kuschke, in: *Fontes atque pontes* (Fs. H.Brunner), Wiesbaden 1983, 254–270.

could have played a role as a regional centre, as is witnessed by some texts and the archaeological material.<sup>510</sup>

The valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the *Biqā'*, had been rather densely populated since prehistoric times, especially in the northern parts.<sup>511</sup> The region opening to the plain of Homs was called the land of Tahshi in Egyptian and cuneiform sources.<sup>512</sup> Already Tuthmosis III is said to have plundered 30 settlements in this country (Urk. IV 1442), and the fact that the area was densely settled is corroborated by archaeological surveys. South of Tahshi, probably beginning in the region of Baalbek, extended the land of Amka/Amki, a geographical but not a political entity. The towns of Hazi, Hashabu, Tushulti, Enishasi, known from the Amarna texts and Egyptian inscriptions, could be located in the northern part of Amka, not far from Baalbek.<sup>513</sup> The Amarna letters mention the name of local rulers: Ildayyi and Mayarzana for Hazi (EA 175 and 185), Bieri for Hashabu (EA 174), Amanhatpe (Egyptian name) for Tushulti (EA 185, 186), Shatiya and Abdirisha for Enishasi (EA 187 and 363). They addressed the Egyptian king as their overlord and demonstrated themselves as loyal subjects. The Habiru and their activities are the concern of EA 185 and 186, which accuse the ruler of Tushulti of co-operating with these groups. Other letters (EA 174, 175, 363) refer to an attack by Aitagama of Qidshu/Qadesh in connection with the advance of the Hittites in northern Syria. According to EA 187 Shatiya of Enishasi sent a daughter to the court of Egypt.

Guddashuna and Kumidi were located further south in the *Biqā'*. A certain Yamiuta was the sender of a letter to the pharaoh; he was the local ruler of Guddashuna which is not yet to be localized with certainty.<sup>514</sup> It seems certain that Kumidi was Tell Kamid el-Loz, where excavations have yielded some cuneiform tablets and unearthened archaeological remains of the late Bronze Age.<sup>515</sup> The town

510 GS III 19, cf. J.B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta. A Phoenician City*, Princeton 1978; R.B. Koehl, *Sarepta III: The Imported Bronze and Iron Age Wares from Area II/X*, Beirut 1985. For the inscription in alphabetic cuneiform see P. Bordreuil, UF 11 (1979) 63–68, and id., *Semitica* 32 (1982) 5–14.

511 A. Kuschke – S. Mittmann – U. Müller – I. Azoury, *Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqā'*, Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976; for previous surveys cf. GS III 56–64, for the topography of the *Biqā'* cf. M. Weippert, in: *Archäologie und Altes Testament* (Fs. K. Galling), Tübingen 1970, 259–272.

512 See A. Kuschke, *Eretz Israel* 15 (1981) 39–45, and cf. id., ZDPV 70 (1954), 71 (1955) and 74 (1958), cf. GS III 57 f.

513 GS III 61 f. – Hazi is probably Tell Hizzin 10 kms southwest of Baalbek: A. Kuschke, ZDPV 74 (1958) 99. Hashabu is certainly Tell Hashbe/Heshbe 16 kms west-southwest of Baalbek: M. Noth, ZDPV 72 (1956) 66 f., and A. Kuschke, ZDPV 74 (1958) 99. Tushulti was close to Hazi: *ibid.* 100. Enishasi should be looked for in the same area, probably near the source of the Litani river, cf. A. Kuschke, *l.c.* 99 f.

514 Guddashuna was perhaps not far from the Litani river, cf. A. Kuschke, ZDPV 74 (1958) 92 and 106 (Tell Jedithe near Shtora).

515 The identity was already proposed by O. Weber, EA p. 1214 f. See now R. Hachmann, RIA VI/5–6 (1983) 330–334. For the palace of the local ruler and the possibility that processing metals (copper, iron) was part of the income see R. Hachmann, in: D. Pa-

was for a certain time the residence of an Egyptian high official ("commissary", *rabisu*) whose name was Puhuru (Pahura, Pihura).<sup>516</sup> There is also evidence for a local governor, Arasha, "man" resp. mayor of Kumidi (EA 198). Biryawaza, often mentioned in the Amarna texts,<sup>517</sup> was active in a rather wide area in the eastern parts of the Egyptian zone of Syria (Ube); he was also, at least temporarily, responsible for Kumidi (EA 197).

The mountainous region south of the plain of Homs, especially the oasis of Damascus, appears in the texts as a land named Ube/Upe<sup>518</sup>. This area had gained some importance at least since the middle of the 2nd millennium. In its north-western part can perhaps be located the town of Ruhizzi, mentioned already at the time of Tuthmosis III. (cf. GS III 78 f.). The Amarna texts pertain to a certain Arzawiya as governor of the town and its territory; he was the sender of two letters to Egypt (EA 191 and 192) and is known — together with the ruler of Lapana (GS III 60 f.) — as an ally of Aitagama of Qidshu/Qadesh (EA 53, 54). He is said to have co-operated with Aziru of Amurru against the town of Shaddu, which was probably located in the Qalamun region (EA 197). Damascus (D/Timashqi, Tamashga), witnessed in textual sources since the time of Tuthmosis III,<sup>519</sup> is mentioned in EA 53 as being located "in the land of Ube" and faithful towards the pharaoh. Aziru met some "brothers" here in order to discuss political questions (EA 107). In EA 197 Damascus is connected with Biryawaza, and a text from Kumidi<sup>520</sup> refers to Damascus as town of a certain Zalaya.<sup>521</sup> Although Damascus was the urban centre of the Ghuta, the fertile region irrigated by the water of the Barada,<sup>522</sup> there is no evidence for a prominent role of the city in the inter-regional trade, which obviously preferred the route running along the Bika'.

In the southernmost part of Syria, especially in the Hauran, archaeological investigations have now yielded some evidence for the existence of settlements during the Bronze Age.<sup>523</sup> The Amarna texts name some of them, e.g. Busruna (EA 197, 199), a

penfuß — V.M.Strocka (eds.), *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum*, Mainz 1982, 21–41. The palace was erected on the ruins of a Middle Bronze Age building about 1200/1100 B.C.

516 EA 132; cf. also the references to Kumidi in EA 116, 129, 132, 197 and 198.

517 EA 7, 52, 53, 129, 151, 189, 194, 196, 197, 234, 250. Cf. R.Hachmann, *Kamid el-Loz — Kumidi*, Bonn 1970, 65–76, and W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 66 ff.

518 GS III 97 f., cf. W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 49–80.

519 GS III 96–99; H.Klengel, *AAAS* 35 (1985) 49–57; W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 49–80.

520 KL 69:277, see D.O.Edzard, in: R.Hachmann et al., *Kamid el-Loz — Kumidi*, Bonn 1970, 55 f., cf. id., *Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, Jerusalem, April 1984, Jerusalem 1985, 250.

521 It was suggested that this Zalaya was Biryawaza's successor as ruler of Damascus: N.Na'aman, *UF* 20 (1988) 179–193.

522 GS III 99 and W.J.van Liere, *AAS* 13 (1963) 116 f.

523 A.Abou Assaf, *BaM* 7 (1974) 13–19; H.Seeden, *Berytus* 34 (1986) 11–81; cf. GS III 99–103.

town to be identified with modern Bosra and with a local ruler who was opposed to Biryawaza.<sup>524</sup> There are also the names of other settlements or towns which could be localized in this region, such as Shashhimi (ruler: Abdimilku, EA 203), Ziribashani (ruler: Artamanya, EA 201) and Mushihuna (ruler: Shuttarna).<sup>525</sup> In this connection also Ashtartu (Tell Ashtara) in the western part of the Hauran should be mentioned.<sup>526</sup> The local ruler, Ayyab, sent a letter to Egypt (EA 364).

Thus the Egyptian part of Syria was split up into a number of urban centres and tribal territories. The integration into the Egyptian empire and natural conditions gave rise to no larger political units, contrary to the situation in the north.

524 GS III 102 f., cf. H.Seeden, *Berytus* 34 (1986) 11–81, cf. id. *AfO* 28 (1981) 214 f. and 31 (1984) 126–128.

525 GS III 101 f.: Shashhimi was somewhere between Damascus and Bosra, not far from Qanu; Ziribashani could perhaps be Ezra'a; Mushihuna was probably located in the region of the Jebel Druz.

526 Excavations by A.Abou Assaf, see AAAS 18 (1968) 103–122, and 19 (1969) 101–108; cf. *Anatolica* IV (1971–1972) 126 f.

## IV. THE IRON AGE

### 1. Ethnic and political changes at the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 1200–1000 B.C.)

#### a) Sources.

About 1200 B.C. or shortly after the Syrian archives which had elucidated the political history of the Late Bronze Age were destroyed. From the last two centuries of the 2nd millennium no comparable textual evidence is available so far. The scarcity of the epigraphic information led to a designation of the period as a “dark age”.<sup>1</sup> The lack of written sources from Syria itself could be explained by the ethnic changes, mainly the immigration of Aramaean groups, and the development of a new system of writing, i.e. a Semitic linear script, which used mainly perishable material (papyrus, leather) to record texts. The climate of Syria allowed only some inscriptions on stone, ceramics and metal to survive, all of minor historical value as far as the political development is concerned.

- An inscription of a certain Zakar/Zeker-Ba'al, king of Amurru, was placed on an arrow-head, but is disputed as to its date and authenticity. Because of its palaeography the inscription was dated to the period before 1000 B.C.: J.Starczyk, in: *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil R.Saidah*, Lyon - Paris 1982, 179–186; F.Mazza, *OA* 26 (1987) 191–200. – For further Phoenician inscriptions cf. P. Bordreuil, *Archéologie au Levant* (cf. above) 187–190, and W.Röllig, *Das Altertum* 31 (1985) 84. – Stone fragments of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions, apparently royal texts, were discovered by the British excavations in Karkamish (Jerablus) and could have belonged to the time in question: J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980) 434 (A 16 c, A 18 d, A 33 i), cf. also D.Ussishkin, *JNES* 26 (1967) 89–91.

Some more informative texts come from regions in which the tradition of writing and the political situation were not affected in the same degree as in Syria and Palestine, i.e. from Egypt and Assyria. As far as Egypt is concerned, the defence of its Asiatic territories and the Nile valley itself against the “Sea Peoples”,<sup>2</sup> but also the

- 1 Cf., with an extension of this term to the central Mediterranean, S.Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*. Symposium Zwettl 1980, Wien 1983. See also, with some reserve as far as the interpretation of sources is concerned, F.Schachermeyr, *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom 13. bis zum 11. Jh.v.Chr.*, Wien 1982.
- 2 For the situation in the Asiatic territories of Egypt cf. A.Malamat, in: *The World History of the Jewish People, I: Ancient Times*, vol. VIII (ed. by B.Mazar), Tell Aviv 1971, 23–38, and L.E.Stager, *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985) 56–64.

attempt to revive the economic relations with the Syrian coastal cities, initiated some texts pertaining to the political history of Syria after 1200 B.C.

- Medinet Habu, inscription of Ramses III, year 8 of his reign: KRI V 39 f. = W.F.Edgerton — J.A.Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, Chicago 1936, 53; J.H.Breasted, AR IV § 64; E.Edel, in: *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar* (Bulletin d'Égypte 97,1) Cairo 1985, 223–237, and the discussion by W.Helck, SAK 14 (1987) 129–145, and B.Cifola, Or 57 (1988) 275–306 (structural analysis). — Further evidence comes from reliefs of Medinet Habu with inscriptions pertaining also to Amurru; they are sometimes copies from reliefs of Ramses II not handed down to us, cf. J.H.Breasted, AR IV §§ 117, 127, 129 and GS II 229.

Journey of Wen-Amom to Asia, papyrus from the late 20th dynasty (i.e. early 11th century B.C.): A.H.Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Brussels 1932, 61–76. There are many later treatments and translations, cf. A.Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1923 (reprint 1970) 225–237; E.Blumenthal, *Altägyptische Reiseerzählungen*, Leipzig 1982, 27–40.

The breakdown of Hittite power in Syria stimulated Assyria to expand its political influence to the Syrian littoral and to gain control of the trade-routes running from the Euphrates to the sea-shore. The royal inscriptions from Ashur, dating to the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) and Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056), reflect these military activities in northern Syria (Hatti) and central Syria (Amurru).

- Tiglath-pileser I (cf. GS II 230): E.F.Weidner, Afo 18 (1957–1958) 342–360; cf. A.K.Grayson, ARI II (1976) 23 ff. (§§ 81–83, 89, 95, 97, 143f., 152 and 158, cf. also §§ 34, 70, 132, 143, 144). Ashur-bel-kala: A.K.Grayson, ARI II (1976) 47 ff. (§§ 212, 234, 248, 249), cf. A.R.Millard, Iraq 32 (1970) 168 f., and R.Borger, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/4 (1984) 356–358.

## b) *Outline history.*

The scanty epigraphic material offers no reliable basis for a political history of this period. It is only possible to spotlight some events and to draw conclusions from sources reflecting the result of the changes which occurred between 1200 and 1000 B.C. The excavations at Jerablus, i.e. Karkamish, have furnished a pottery sequence which points to a certain continuity; there is no evidence for a massive destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>3</sup> The reference to Karkamish in the inscription of Ramses III, year 8, saying that “no land could stand before their (i.e. the “Sea Peoples”) armies, from Hatti, Qadi, Karkamish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off (or: uprooted) at [one time]”,<sup>4</sup> is no decisive argument for the assumption that the

3 Cf. the summarizing article of J.D.Hawkins, RIA V/5–6 (1980) 434 f.

4 Cf. E.Edel, in: *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar* (Bulletin d'Égypte 97,1), Cairo 1985, 225. — W.Helck, SAK 14 (1987) 129–145, proposes a historical interpretation of the Medinet Habu inscription KRI V 39, 14–40,5. He refuses the assumption of a migration and argues for piracy and earthquake as causes for the breakdown of the cultures in

core area of the dominating power in Hittite Syria was immediately affected by the destructions caused by the "Sea Peoples". Karkamish should mean the territory ruled by the kings of Karkamish as Hittite viceroys, i.e. northern Syria including the coastal region. The latest texts from Emar (Meskene), dating to the same time as the events recorded by Ramses III,<sup>5</sup> clearly demonstrate that the city, located on the western bank of the Euphrates downstream from Karkamish, was still untouched by the advance of the "Sea Peoples". The later destruction of Emar and its archives was obviously caused by Aramaeans or other population groups than by the "Sea Peoples".<sup>6</sup> The seal of Kuzi-Teshup, son of Talmi-Teshup and king of Karkamish, indicates that Karkamish was still ruled by a king belonging to the dynasty of Piyashili/Sharri-Kushuh which was once installed by Shuppiluliuma I.<sup>7</sup> It was, as it seems, this Kuzi-Teshup who was able to extend his rule to Melid/Malatiya and to become the founder of a new dynasty there.<sup>8</sup> Future investigations in other places should reveal similar continuity between the Hittite empire and the Syro-Hittite kingdoms.<sup>9</sup>

very  
stable  
dynasty

The menace of Ugarit by foreigners whose advance was conveyed to the city by letters sent from Alashiya (Cyprus)<sup>10</sup> is often related to the destruction of Ugarit, although an earthquake would likewise be a possible reason for the end of the Bronze Age city – especially if the harbour suffered seriously from the tectonic movements and was no longer suitable for ships as before. In any case, Ugarit lost the role it played during the Bronze Age, at the same time when the settlement at Ras Ibn Hani was also destroyed and only partly resettled by newcomers.<sup>11</sup> An interruption of the continuity of settlement is also indicated by the archaeological evidence

destructions

Mycene and Syria. As far as Hatti is concerned, he makes a social revolution responsible for the end of Hattusha. That the "Sea Peoples" did not arrive *en masse* in Canaan is suggested also by L.E.Stager, *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985) 56–64.

- 5 D.Arnaud, *Syria* 52 (1975) 88 f. (synchronism with Melishipak of Babylon, year 2), and M.L.Bierbrier, *JEA* 64 (1978) 136 (synchronism with Ramses III, year 8). The texts from Emar are dated to the period between c.1320 and 1180, see D.Arnaud, *Hethitica VIII* (1987) 20 n.2.
- 6 Cf. I.Singer, *Hethitica VIII* (1987) 418 f., and H.Klengel, *OLZ* 83 (1988) 651.
- 7 D.Sürenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986) 183–190; H.Klengel, *OLZ* 83 (1988) 652.
- 8 The grandfather of the kings of Melid, Runtiyas and Arnuwantis (I), is mentioned with his name Kuzi-Teshup in the Hittite hieroglyphic inscription of two stelae, see J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 38 (1988) 99–108.
- 9 Cf. also P.J.James, in: P.J.James – I.J.Thorpe – N.Kokkinos – J.A.Frankish (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Chronology 1* (1987) 49–52, who refers to a continuity of imperial Hittite traditions at Karkamish and argues against a "Dark Age" of several centuries between the Late Bronze and Iron Age settlements.
- 10 Cf. above and the discussion of the textual evidence by G.A.Lehmann, in: S.Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der 'Dark Ages'*. Symposium Zwerth 1980, Wien 1983, 86–92, cf. id., *UF* 11 (1979) 481–494.
- 11 Cf. L.Badre and J.Lagarce, in: *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di studi fenici e punicis*, Roma 1983, 203–209 and 223–226.

from Tell Sukas (ancient Shuksi),<sup>12</sup> Tell Kazel (Sumur)<sup>13</sup> and Tell Arqa (Irqata).<sup>14</sup> In Kamid el-Loz (Kumidi) the palace was destroyed about 1200/1100 B.C.<sup>15</sup> The major cities on the southern sea-shore, such as Gubla, Sidon, Tyre, and Sarepta, do not seem to have suffered any longer from the "Sea Peoples", and they continued to be places with local rulers, which were now — as is shown by the story of Wen-Amon — politically independent from Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

For the 5th year of Ramses III an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription mentions a "king of Amurru" who "became ash" (= lost his life?) and whose name disappeared; the people of Amurru were captured, dispersed and submitted.<sup>17</sup> The inscription of year 8 of Ramses III, again from Medinet Habu, records that the "Sea Peoples" pitched their tents in Amurru and vanquished both population and country. As this took place some time before the inscription was written, it could be that it pertains to the same event as reported for year 5. The same could be true for the inscriptions on the reliefs referring to a defeat of Amurru (cf. GS III 229 f.). Thus, the Akkar plain and its hinterland seem to have suffered seriously from the invasion of groups of the "Sea Peoples". The kingdom of Amurru ruled by the Aziru dynasty disappeared about the end of the Bronze Age, and it was not revived later on. "Amurru" became a wider term again, now designating the area between the inner desert (Tadmur/Palmyra) and the sea-shore.<sup>18</sup> It seems that within this region several local or tribal chiefs were ruling, all of them being "kings" of Amurru.

The extension of the term "Amurru" is also indicated by the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076), who was the first Assyrian ruler to reach the Mediter-

12 GS III 6, see also J.P.Rijs, *Sukas I: The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, Copenhagen 1970, 20 ff. (destruction layers from the 12th century B.C.).

13 GS III 9 f., cf. M.Dunand — (A.Bounni)-N.Saliby, *AAS* 7 (1957) 3–16 and 14 (1964) 3–14, also H.Klengel, *Klio* 66 (1984) 5–18.

14 GS III 11 f., cf. J.-P.Thalmann, *Syria* 55 (1978) 1–153 (report of the excavations).

15 R.Hachmann, in: D.Papenfuß — V.M.Strocka (eds.), *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum*, Mainz 1982, 37.

16 W.Röllig, *Berytus* 30 (1982) 79–83, refers to Justin XVIII 3,5, who states that one year before the fall of Troy the territory of the Sidonians was conquered by one of the Philistine princes of Ashkalon. The Sidonians are said to have fled in their ships and to have founded resp. re-founded Tyre. — As far as Tyre is concerned, a destruction of part of the walls at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the building of a new defence system at the beginning of the Iron Age could point to this period, cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, 59 and 73; P.M.Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster 1978, esp. p.8 f. — For Sarepta see J.B.Pritchard, *Sarepta. A Preliminary Report on the Iron Age*, Philadelphia 1975, esp. p.10.

17 W.F.Edgerton — J.A.Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, Chicago 1936, II 22.

18 See below the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I and Ashur-bel-kala, furthermore L.W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London 1912, no. VI 10 (time of Nebuchadnezzar I of Isin, c.1124–1103). E. Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952–1953) 18 n.134, proposed to distinguish between this Amurru and Amurru in Syria.



anean Sea since the time of Shamshi-Adad I. Tiglath-pileser marched to the Lebanon mountains in order to carry off cedar beams destined for the reconstruction of the temple of Anu and Adad in Ashur. At the same time he intended to win control of the trade routes running through territories of the Aramaeans to Hatti and Amurru and arriving at the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The inscriptions focus mainly on the successes of Tiglath-pileser in the country of Amurru between the sea-shore and Tadmur. Amurru was conquered and the Assyrian king received gifts (or tribute) from the lands(!) of Gubla, Sidon, and Arwad. Tiglath-pileser rode in boats from the city of Arwad to Samuru/Sumur in the southern Akkar plain, catching a sea-horse during this rather short travel. Afterwards he returned to Assyria using the northern route through the land of Hatti. He imposed a tribute on Ini-Teshup, king of the land of Hatti, consisting of payments, hostages and cedar beams. Although Karkamish is not mentioned in this connection, it is quite certain that Ini-Teshup resided in this city.<sup>19</sup> Tiglath-pileser also fought against the semi-nomadic groups of the Aramaeans (Ahlamu Aramaeans) who settled or roamed in the wide area west of the middle Euphrates between Anat (Ana) in the land of Suhū or even Rapiqu in the south and the city of Karkamish in the land of Hatti in the north, extending as far as Tadmur (Palmyra) and the "foot of Mount Lebanon".<sup>20</sup> It seems that the Assyrian king, albeit receiving tribute/gifts from the cities Gubla and Sidon, did not personally appear in these centres in the south. His inscriptions are of special interest for the political situation in Syria about 1100 B.C., showing that Aramaeans had already extended over wide regions west of the middle Euphrates, and that the coastal centres, such as Arwad, Gubla and Sidon, were independent from Egypt. Ini-Teshup of Karkamish was ruling parts of northeastern Syria, but it is not known whether he was related to the earlier dynasty of viceroys or not.

Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria was succeeded by his son Ashared-apil-ekur (1075–1074), who only ruled for two years<sup>21</sup> without leaving any inscription. Then another son of Tiglath-pileser I came to the throne, Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056), who is known from his own texts which mention the "Upper Sea of the land of Amurru" as the western limit of his military campaigns, although there is at hand no further evidence for successful military activities as far as the Syrian littoral. The report on riding boats of Arwad and killing a sea-horse is too closely related to the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I to be taken seriously.<sup>22</sup> The "Broken Obelisk", now ascribed to Ashur-bel-kala, also mentions military campaigns of Ashur-bel-kala in the region of Karkamish and on the west bank of the Euphrates, but the text is again chosen according to the report of Tiglath-pileser I.<sup>23</sup> Ashur-bel-kala, following his father's

19 A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* (1976) 23 n.107; for Ini-Teshup see *ibid.* 23 § 82 and 26 § 96, for the expedition to Amurru 23 § 81, 26 § 95 and 37 § 144; the killing of the sea-horse is mentioned *ibid.* 34 § 132.

20 A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* (1976) 13 f. § 34, 21 § 70, 23 § 83, 27 § 97 and 36 f. § 143.

21 Cf. the Assyrian king list: A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* (1976) 45, see also *id.*, *ARI I* (1972) 1 §§ 8–10.

22 A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* (1976) 47 § 121 and 56 § 249.

23 A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* (1976) 52 § 234 and 58 § 261.

inscriptions, boasts to have pursued the enemies to the "foot of Mount Lebanon", but it becomes clear that this did not mean the range of the Lebanon itself. In the text of the "Broken Obelisk" he records the killing of wild bulls and cows "at the city of Araziqu which is before the land Hatti and at the foot of Mount Lebanon".<sup>24</sup> Araziqu is certainly to be identified as Arazik located on the west bank of the Euphrates in the region of the modern lake,<sup>25</sup> and this would corroborate the impression that the mountain-range crossing the Syrian steppe and touching upon Tadmur was considered as the "foot" of the Lebanon. Therefore the activities of Ashur-bel-kala in this region could not be used as an argument for a real campaign to the Syrian littoral.

Some years after the time of Tiglath-pileser I the Egyptian Wen-Amon/Unamun sailed to the "great Syrian sea" to Gubla/Byblos in order to receive timber for the woodwork of the bark of the god Amon-Re. According to the text handed down to us in a literary style, this happened during the reign of Herihor, the priestly ruler of Upper Egypt.<sup>26</sup> The ship of Wen-Amon anchored at Dor and Tyre and passed Sidon before arriving at Gubla, which was ruled by Zakar-Ba'al (Tjekker-Ba'al) at that time. He is perhaps identical with the owner of the arrow-head, who is called "king of Amurru" (i.e. of a territory belonging to Amurru?).<sup>27</sup> The Egyptian tale clearly demonstrates that the ruler of Gubla was not dependent on Egypt; he did not acknowledge the pretensions of the Egyptians to receive cedar beams for the god Amon-Re without paying an equivalent. Because of his shortage of money, Wen-Amon discussed this problem with the ruler of Gubla, who was considered as being stationed in Gubla "to carry on the commerce of the Lebanon with Amon, its lord". Only after the return of a messenger from Egypt with further gifts, among them 500 scrolls of finished papyrus — an indication for the use of this material in Gubla, the king of Gubla was satisfied. The tale of Wen-Amon, certainly not a reliable historical source in detail, nevertheless reflects the decline of Egyptian authority in Gubla and perhaps all Canaan.<sup>28</sup>

To sum up, the scanty textual material points to a continuation of Syrian polycentrism, now without being inserted into a system of foreign rule. The "Sea Peoples" and their activities certainly affected the centres on the littoral of Syria; inland Syria, and

24 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II 55 (1976) § 248.

25 For Araziqu cf. Kh.Nashef, *RGTC* 5 (1982) 36. There two possible locations are proposed: Tell el-Hajj near Jebel Aruda, and Abu Hanaya. In both cases an equation with Roman Eragiza is adopted. For the excavations at Tell el-Hajj see Cl.Krause — K.Schuler — R.A.Stucky, *Tell el Hajj in Syrien. 1.vorläufiger Bericht, Grabungskampagne 1971*, Bern 1972.

26 Cf. above, sources. For the historical background cf. A. Van den Branden, *Bibbia e Oriente* 17 (1975) 145–171.

27 On the understanding that the arrow-head, which was not discovered during scientific excavations, is an original; for discussion cf. F.Mazza, *OA* 26 (1987) 191–200.

28 Wen-Amon reminded the ruler of Gubla that a messenger of the vezier of the king of Egypt was forced to live 17 years in Gubla before he was allowed to leave. This would imply that already some time before the journey of Wen-Amon, Gubla tried to demonstrate its independence by not obeying the orders of the weak rulers of Egypt.

especially the eastern parts, remained untouched by the newcomers from the west, but were open to the extension of Aramaean groups which penetrated into Syria as far as the coastal mountains. But besides that, also other developments should be noted which were of importance for the further history of Syria too: The growing role of iron for tools obviously facilitated the cultivation of special soils, the digging of wells and the cutting of trees, and the use of the camel (mainly the dromedary) opened a new perspective for the transport of goods. For southern Syria, the hinterland of the emerging Phoenician centres, this meant a shortening of distance between the settled area on the coast and the cities of Mesopotamia. This was certainly one of the factors which favoured the flourishing of a number of urban centres and principalities in Syria as it is evidenced by texts and archaeological artifacts dating to the early 1st millennium B.C.

## 2. Syria in the Early Iron Age, c.1000–745 B.C.: The development of new political entities and the Assyrian aggression

### a) Sources.

Sources from Syria:

It is almost certain that the bulk of writing done in Syria since the end of the 2nd millennium made use of papyrus or leather, i.e. perishable materials, which have not survived the centuries under the conditions of the Syrian climate. On the other hand, the inscriptions on stone now increased in connection with the emergence of new Syrian principalities. The rulers of these states intended to leave a memorial to their military or cultic merits for posterity. Therefore this information was carved on stelae, visible to the public and also durable. These texts, which could be called "display inscriptions" according to their intention, are mostly written in the linear Semitic script with alphabetic characters, which had developed in Syria and Palestine during the late 2nd millennium B.C. This system of writing was used, with local variants, for both Phoenician and Aramaic. In addition, hieroglyphic Luwian (Hittite), obviously an indigenous Anatolian construct known since the middle of the 2nd millennium, was in use also in Syria up to the 7th century B.C. It seems remarkable that for local Syrian use cuneiform writing became extinct, a fact which could emphasize a break in the cultural tradition.<sup>29</sup> In general, the textual evidence from Syria offers comparatively little material as far as political history is concerned:

29 Some cuneiform inscriptions on stone or rock-faces, reflecting the military successes of Mesopotamian rulers, and a few cuneiform tablets, which had their origin in the administration of the Assyrian empire, are no indication for a wider use of cuneiform writing in Syria itself.

The Aramaic inscriptions from inland Syria, which belong to the period in question, are mostly compiled by H.Donner – W.Röllig, KAI, and J.C.L.Gibson, TSSI II 1–76.

- Brej: KAI no.201 (Bar-Hadad)<sup>30</sup>; Afis: KAI 202 (Zakkur/Zakir)<sup>31</sup>; Hama: KAI 203–213 (graffiti); Zincirli: KAI 214 (Panammuwa I), cf. also Arslan Tash: KAI 232 (mentions Haza'el of Damascus)<sup>32</sup>. To the very end of the period in question belong the inscriptions on three stelae discovered at Sfire, 25 kms southeast of Aleppo: KAI 222–224.<sup>33</sup> For a compilation of sources pertaining to the Aramaean states see H.Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*, Beirut 1987. For an old Aramaic seal impression from the Damascus region cf. M.Heltzer, in: M.Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic literary tradition*, Ramat-Gan 1983, 9–13.

Phoenician inscriptions, datable mostly only because of palaeographic arguments and by criteria of art history, were discovered at Gubla/Byblos and, occasionally, at various other Syrian sites of the littoral. Cf. again H.Donner – W.Röllig, KAI, and J.C.L.Gibson, TSSI (esp. III 1–24). Cf. also the German translations published in O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT II/4 (1988) 582 ff.

- Gubla: KAI 1 and 2 (Ahiaram, 'Ittoba'al)<sup>34</sup>; KAI 4 (Yehimilk), 5 ('Abiba'al), 6 ('Eliba'al), 7 (Shipitba'al), also KAI 3 and 8. For a discussion of KAI 1–8, i.e. inscriptions from Gubla/Byblos, cf. R.Wallenfels, *JANES* 15 (1983) 79–118 (proposes a later date, middle of 9th to end of 7th centuries); Rueisseh: KAI 20 (arrow-head); Lebanon region: KAI 22 (arrow-head); Zincirli: KAI 24 and 25 (Kilamuwa).<sup>35</sup>

A great amount of economic documents, correspondence and other texts once kept in the archives of the Phoenician centres has disappeared, but their existence is attested by Flavius Josephus who points to the large use of writing by the Phoenicians (*Contra Apionem* I 107) and to the fact, that “for very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of

30 Cf. J.A.Dearman – M.Miller, *PEQ* 115 (1983) 95–101; P.Bordreuil – J.Teixidor, *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983) 271–276; W.C.Delsman, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/6 (1985) 625.

31 Cf. A.Avanzini, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* X/2 (1987) 113–120; also W.C.Delsman, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/6 (1985) 626–628.

32 For the inscriptions of Haza'el see now I.Eph'al – J.Naveh, *IEJ* 39 (1989) 192–203.

33 Historical background and interpretation of these texts were discussed by A.Lemaire – J.-M.Durand, *Les inscriptions Araméennes de Sfire et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Genève – Paris 1984, cf. the reviews by W.von Soden, *SEL* 2 (1985) 133–141; E.Lipiński, *OLZ* 81 (1986) 351–354; F.M.Fales, *RA* 80 (1986) 88–93; id., in L.Canfora – M.Liverani – C.Zaccagnini (eds.), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma, ideologia, funzione*, Roma 1990, 149–173. See also R.Zadok, *AIUON* 44 (1984) 529–538 (interpretation as a treaty of an Assyrian provincial governor with Mati'el of Arpad).

34 For the Ahiaram inscription cf. also J.Teixidor, *Syria* 64 (1987) 137–140.

35 Cf. J.C.L.Gibson, TSSI III pp.30–39; P.Swiggers, *RSO* 55 (1981) 1–4 and *RSF* 11 (1983) 133–147; also H.-P.Müller, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/3 (1985) 638–640.

the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations" (*Contra Apionem* I 107).<sup>36</sup>

The so-called Hittite Hieroglyphs (hieroglyphic Luwian) were discovered in northern Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southeast Asia Minor, i.e. in the region of the "Syro-Hittite" culture and states.<sup>37</sup> The inscriptions are mostly placed on monumental sculpture commemorating building activities of a local ruler or they are other dedications by these rulers and their dependents, thus focusing on local events.

- Karkamish: more than 40 inscriptions; Aleppo region: 3 inscriptions; Hama region: 12 inscriptions; Amuq plain: 6 inscriptions; cf. also Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsip) on the Euphrates with 4 inscriptions.<sup>38</sup>

Some documents (letters, economic texts) on strips of lead, which were excavated in Ashur, could suggest that there existed a corpus of written communication also in hieroglyphic script, now lost because of a perishable material being used for writing (leather, papyrus, wood).

#### Sources from outside Syria:

While the Aramaic, Phoenician and hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions discovered in neighbouring countries of Syria are nearly exclusively concerned with local affairs, the Assyrian royal inscriptions are of utmost importance for the political history of Syria because of the Assyrian expansion starting in the early 1st millennium B.C. After Adad-nirari II (911–891) and Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) had fought against the Aramaeans in the region of the middle Euphrates,<sup>39</sup> their successors arrived in Syria itself; thus, Syria came into the horizon of Assyrian royal inscriptions:

- Ashur-nasir-apli/Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) described his Syrian campaigns in his annals from Kalhu (ARI II 117 ff., §§ 584–586 f., §§ 597, 601 f., 653), on the so-called Banquet-Stela from Kalhu (ARI II 172 ff., §§ 676, 682), on limestone tablets from Imgur-Enlil, modern Balawat (ARI II 179 ff., § 694), and on bronze bands of the same site (ARI II 180, § 698).

Shulmanu-ashared/Shalmaneser III (858–824) recorded his Syrian campaigns in various inscriptions, mainly discovered in Kalhu and Ashur: ARAB I 200 ff., §§ 558–560, 563, 568, 571, 574–578, 582 f., 585, 590, 593; monolith inscription, Kurkh: ARAB I 211 ff., §§ 599–608, 610 f.; bronze bands, gates of Imgur-Enlil (Balawat): ARAB I 224 ff., §§ 614, 617 f.; fragments of annals, Kalhu and

36 Cf. also *Contra Apionem* I 111, 215, and II 18. In *Ant. Jud.* VIII 55 Josephus refers to the preservation of the correspondence between Hiram and Solomon. According to Josephus, the annals of Tyre were translated by Dios and Menander; cf. also H.J. Katzenstein, *History of Tyre* (1973) 77 ff.

37 Cf. the map in J.D. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, Cambridge 1982, 374, and M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, Società, Economia*, Rome – Bari 1988, 715, 737, and 793.

38 Cf. J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 22 (1972) 88–114 (Karkamish); for the stela of Meharde/Sheizar see J.D. Hawkins, in: *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Fs. E. Laroche), Paris 1979, 145–156. A handbook of all hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was prepared by J.D. Hawkins (in press).

39 A.K. Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 91 § 434 (region of Terqa) and 101 ff. §§ 470–475 (regions of Hit, Anat, Terqa, lower Habur).

Ashur: ARAB I 232 ff., §§ 633 f., 641, 646 f., 651–655, 658 f., 663, 672, cf. also E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 454 ff., and II/1 (1954) 27 ff.; inscription on the throne with a seated figure of Shalmaneser, Ashur: ARAB I 243 ff., § 674; on a statue, Ashur: ARAB I 245 f., § 681; inscription at the source of the Tigris: ARAB I 246 ff., §§ 686, 691; on an alabaster slab, Ashur: ARAB I 251, § 703; see furthermore E.Michel, WO I/4 (1949) 269 f., and J.A.Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973) 40 ff.; E.Michel, WO I/5 (1950) 389 ff., esp. col.II 3 ff. (stone tablet inscription) and WO II/2 (1955) 142 f. (relief inscription).

Adad-nirari III (810–783), stela from Tell Rimah: St.Page, Iraq 30 (1968) 139–153,<sup>40</sup> slab inscriptions from Kalhu: ARAB I 262 ff., §§ 739 f.; Saba'a stela (Sinjar area) of an officer: ARAB I 260 ff., § 735;<sup>41</sup> fragment of a stela: A.R.Millard – H.Tadmor, Iraq 35 (1973) 57–64.<sup>42</sup> Stela, from Antakya: V.Donbaz, ARIM 8 (1990) 5 and 11–14.

Shulmanu-ashared/Shalmaneser IV (783–772): Stela from Pazarcik: V.Donbaz, ARIM 8 (1990) 8–10 and 15–24 (photos), cf. also J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/1, Cambridge 1982, 399–401, and W.T.Pitard, Ancient Damascus (1987) 106 f.

Ashur-nirari V (754–745): Treaty with Mati'ilu of Arpad: ARAB I 265–268; E.Weidner, AfO 8 (1932–1933) 17–26; S.Parpola – K.Watanabe, Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths (State Archives of Assyria, II), Helsinki 1988, XXVII f. and pp.8–13. Cf. also R.Borger, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/2 (1983) 155–158.

Further information on Syria comes from the *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, i.e. the chronicles, with the names of the eponyms and entries concerning military campaigns to Arpad, Unqi, the Cedar Forest (Amanus), Hatarikka, and Damascus:

- A.Unghnad, RIA II (1938) 412–457; for later partial treatments see R.Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur I*, Berlin 1967, 587 f. and *JL*, Berlin 1975, 303.

Biblical and other later sources:

Some books of the Old Testament, esp. II Samuel, I Chronicles and I Kings, refer to events which took place during the period in question. They mainly concern the wars with Aram-Zobah and Aram-Damascus since the time of David, but also the co-operation between Israel and Tyre. Further information on Syrian history before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III is given by Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, *Ant.Jud.*).<sup>43</sup>

40 Cf. H.Cazelles, CRAIBL 1969, 106–118; H.Donner, in: Fs. K.Galling, Tübingen 1970, 49–59.

41 For lines 11–13 see H.Tadmor, IEJ 19 81969) 46–48.

42 The historical inscriptions of Adad-nirari III in general are discussed by H.Tadmor, Iraq 35 (1973) 141–150; J.D.Hawkins, Iraq 36 (1974) 67–83; for Aram and Arpad cf. A.R.Millard, PEQ 105 (1973) 161–164.

43 For other non-Biblical textual sources pertaining to the history of Israel during the time of the Omri dynasty see St.Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri*, Göttingen 1982, 157 ff.

Besides these textual sources, there are also some sites which were investigated by archaeological excavations. Physical remains of cities dating back to the Early Iron Age were unearthed in various parts of Syria, especially in Karkamish and Zincirli, Tell Tayinat (plain of Antioch), Ain Dara (Afrin valley), Tell Afis (north Syrian plain), Hamath (Hama), Sur (Tyre), Saida (Sidon), Sarafand (Sarepta), Gubla/Byblos, Tell Sukas, Tell Kazel (Simyra), Tell Arqa, etc. They elucidate the cultural level of these centres and their contacts, but they furnish little evidence as far as political history is concerned.

## *b) Outline history.*

### **(1) General development.**

The changes which occurred during the last centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. are reflected in both textual and material evidence of the early 1st millennium. There came into being a number of states of varying political structure and ethnic composition. While in the coastal region city-states with a predominance of the older population emerged or continued, in the interior parts of Syria several territorial states (or: extended city-states) developed with a strong Aramaean or Luwian ("Hittite") component in the population. The latter could be called "Syro-Hittite" as far as their cultural affinity with the states in south-east Anatolia is concerned, or "Late Hittite" / "Neo-Hittite" if one considers their political and cultural characteristics. Among the cities of the sea-shore, Tyre played a dominant role during the early 1st millennium, whereas in inland Syria political power was focused on Damascus in the south and Hamath in central Syria, both heading later coalitions of Syrian states against the Assyrian attack. The historical presentation therefore has to follow firstly a chronological and secondly a geographical principle in order to outline both general and regional political developments.<sup>44</sup>

### **(a) *The rise of the Phoenician, Aramaean, and "Late Hittite" states (10th century B.C.).***

Based upon a revived sea-trade, some cities of the Syrian littoral gained political importance. While in the northern section of the coastal strip no centre was capable of taking over the power once exercised by Ugarit, in the southern part Gubla/Byblos, Sidon and Tyre became prominent not only because of their commercial activities but also as political entities. They were mediators of merchandise within the international exchange of goods, but they were also important as producers of purple-dyed textiles, glass objects, metal work, wood and ivory carving, and some agricultural items, such as wine, olive-oil, and figs – all suitable for export. Already

44 Cf., in general, I.J.Winter, *North Syria in the first Millennium B.C. With Special Reference to Ivory Carving*, New York 1975; J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 372–434; H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, 77 ff.; W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 81 ff.

during the 11th century the trade of the "Phoenicians"<sup>45</sup> — to use a designation derived from the Greek word for the people from Tyre, Sidon, etc. — had expanded into other regions of the Mediterranean. There is evidence for established Phoenician trading posts, "colonies", on the northern coast of Syria, in Asia Minor, on Cyprus and Rhodus, in Greece, Egypt and on Malta, in North Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia.<sup>46</sup> The Phoenician contact with Greece is indicated by pottery which was discovered, e.g., in Tyre and Sarepta, dating to the 10th century B.C.<sup>47</sup> At the end of the 9th century, Phoenicians — fugitives from Tyre — founded Carthage. This centre began to establish its own colonies in the western Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa. The trading contacts of Phoenicia with the east, the hinterland of the coastal cities, were certainly favoured by the use of the camel (dromedary) as a means of transport. As it seems, Damascus made its profit from the new routes which now crossed the desert between the Levant and Mesopotamia.

In contrast to the material documenting a wide-spread commercial activity, the political history of the Phoenician "mother"-cities is nearly unknown.<sup>48</sup> Economic co-operation between Hiram I of Tyre and David and Solomon of Israel-Judah is referred to in the Old Testament; at that time Tyre already had a colony on Cyprus. The later history of Tyre and Sidon is outlined by Flavius Josephus and some Assyrian sources (cf. IV 2a). After 900 B.C. the Assyrian attack also became a menace for Tyre and all Phoenicia.

45 For the term and its geographical meaning cf. W. Röllig, *Berytus* 30 (1982) 79–93.

46 The so-called Phoenician colonization cannot be part of the presentation focused on political history, although there was certainly a feed-back from the widespread trading activities which contributed to the development of the "mother-country". For the "colonization" cf., among others, G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, Bruxelles – Rome 1979; G. Garbini, *I Fenici. Storia e Religione*, Napoli 1980, 65 ff.; E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia, V), Leuven 1987. For a pictorial record cf. S. Moscati (ed.), *I Fenici*, Milano 1988 (German and English editions). — J. D. Muhly, in: *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem 1985, 179 ff., points to the fact that there is no archaeological evidence for a presence of Phoenicians in Spain or North Africa before the 8th century B.C.

47 J. Muhly, in: *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem 1985, 181; cf. also P. M. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster 1978, 9–12. For Sarepta see R. B. Koehl, *Sarepta III: The Imported Bronze and Iron Wares from Area II/X*, Beirut 1985, 147 ff. — Greek pottery is known also from Tell Sukas, but dates to the time since the 8th century, cf. P. J. Riis, *Tell Sukas I: The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, Copenhagen 1970, 126 ff.; G. Ploug, *Tell Sukas II: The Aegean, Corinthian and Eastern Greek Pottery and Terracottas*, Copenhagen 1973. For the problem in general cf. D. Hegyi, in: H.-J. Nissen — J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 531–538.

48 Cf. the statement of J. D. Muhly, in: *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem 1985, 187: "The history of the Phoenicians in the Levant, especially in their Phoenician homeland during the period ca. 1200–800 B.C.E., is a history that remains to be written". For Tyre and other Phoenician cities see H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, 77 ff.



As far as inland Syria is concerned, there emerged a number of states ruled by Aramaean or Luwian ("Hittite") princes. Some of them appear in the written (Aramaic or hieroglyphic) tradition, sometimes bearing the name of an ancestor or the founder of the dynasty. The most important principalities, which had close contact with their semi-nomadic relatives, were Aram-Zobah on the upper Orontes, extending beyond the Anti-Lebanon into the Syrian desert, Bit-Rehob on the upper Jordan, Hamath, Bit-Agusi (with Arpad as its centre), Pat(t)in/Unqi in the region of the lower Orontes, Sam'al (Zincirli), Karkamish, and – including territories east of the Euphrates – Bit Adini.

For the period around 1000 B.C. the "kingdom"/chiefdom of (Aram-)Zobah, which appears among the enemies of Saul, is worth mentioning. During the time of David of Israel-Juda a certain Hadad-ezer, a native of Aram-Rehob, obviously connected with Zobah and Rehob by a personal union, is referred to. David fought against this Aramaean state, and after three battles was victorious. Aram-Zobah disappeared from the historical scene and was replaced by Aram-Damascus some time later.<sup>49</sup> Damascus became the leading Aramaean power in Syria until it was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C. Together with Hamath, the most important principality in central Syria, in evidence as a political unit since the time of David,<sup>50</sup> Damascus headed several Syrian coalitions fighting against the Assyrians in the 9th and 8th centuries. In the north, Karkamish was the residence of a dynasty, possibly related to the rulers of the Late Bronze Age. In any case, the Hittite traditions were still alive, and the Hittite/Luwian component of population was certainly strong.<sup>51</sup> The dynasty of Bit Adini may also date back to c.1000 B.C., and in the north-western corner of Syria Sam'al could have been ruled by its own dynasty since the late 10th century B.C.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, several major political entities are indicated or certified by textual sources for both coastal and inland Syria. As far as the northern parts of Syria are concerned, sculptures and architectural remains show similar features to those from south-eastern Anatolia, forming a cultural entity now generally called "Syro-Hittite". The political history of these principalities, and also of the Aramaean kingdoms of the south, is only spotlighted by some written records. Clearer evidence and more security as to chronology is furnished by the inscriptions of the kings of Assyria when Syria came into the horizon of Assyrian military expansion.

49 II Sam.10:6 ff., I Chron.19:6 ff.; cf. the outline history of this period as given by A.Malamat, in: D.J.Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, Oxford 1973, 141–146, and now also W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 89 ff.

50 Names of two kings of Hamath, To'i and Hadoram/Joram, are mentioned in the Old Testament for the period of David and Solomon; cf. for Hamath J.D.Hawkins, *RIA IV/1* (1972) 67–70.

51 Cf. J.D.Hawkins, *RIA V/5–6* (1980) 426–446, esp. 442 ff., and id., *CAH III/1* (1982) 383 f.

52 J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 386.

**(b) *The defence of the Syrian states against the Assyrians until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (c.900–745 B.C.).***

The expansion of Assyrian power to the west<sup>53</sup> was first connected with campaigns against the Aramaeans in upper Mesopotamia and in the region of the middle Euphrates. Adad-nirari II (911–891) fought in the Habur region and reached – via Dur Katlimmu (Sheikh Hamad) – Sirqu/Terqa (Tell Ashara) on the western bank of the river, property of a certain Mudadda of Laqe. There he received tribute from the city Hidanu which was located downstream on the Euphrates. In the same area Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884) was active. Approaching from Babylonia via Idu (Hit) and Anat (Ana), he received tribute from the same Mudadda of Laqe.<sup>54</sup>

Ashur-nasir-apli/ Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) interfered in this region during his first year of rule. When he stayed in the land of Kadmuḫu/Kummuh,<sup>55</sup> he was informed that a rebellion had broken out in the city of Suru, which belonged to the land Bit-Halupe, whereby the local governor was replaced by a “son of nobody, whom they brought from Bit-Adini”.<sup>56</sup> This revolt gave rise to a campaign to the Habur area and the region of the middle Euphrates. The texts demonstrate that the Assyrian king was present there in the years 878/877.<sup>57</sup> In the year 876/875 the ruler Ahuni of Bit-Adini submitted and paid tribute.<sup>58</sup>

Following up this campaign Ashurnasirpal II took further tribute from Ahuni of Bit-Adini, crossed the Euphrates which was in flood, and entered the territory of Karkamish. He received tribute from Sangara, “king of the land of Hatti”, and took with him the chariotry, cavalry and foot-soldiers of Karkamish, thus reinforcing his army. Impressed by the success of the Assyrians “all kings of the lands came down in order to submit”. Taken as hostages they were forced to follow the Assyrian army on its march to Mount Lebanon, a region still far away if we do not include the mountains of northern Syria. Ashurnasirpal proceeded to the land of Ahanu, identical with Bit-Agusi, and passed through it north of its later capital Arpad (Tell Riḫat). The next station mentioned in the royal inscriptions was Hazazu (modern ‘Azaz), a town ruled by Lubarna of Pat(t)in/Unqi. The river Apre (Afrin) was crossed and the

53 Cf., in general, H.Tadmor, in: H.Goedicke – J.J.M.Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore – London 1975, 36–48; also, with special reference to the Habur and middle Euphrates areas, M.Liverani, *State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin* II/2 (1988) 81–98.

54 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 91, § 434 and 103 f., § 473 f. For Laqe and the topographical situation cf. J.N.Postgate, *RIA* VI/7–8 (1983) 492–494, for Hindanu cf. Kh.Nashef, *RGTC* 5 (1982) 127. There is also a stela of Tukulti-Ninurta II from Sirqu/Terqa, see R.J.Tournay – S.Saouaf, *AAS* 2 (1952) 169–190, and A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 112, § 520 f.

55 Kummuh was located west and north-west of modern Cizre/Gazirat ibn-‘Umar, occupying at least the eastern side of the Kashiari mountain, see J.N.Postgate, *RIA* V/7–8 (1980) 487; Kh.Nashef, *RGTC* 5 (1982) 165 f.

56 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 123, § 547; cf. D.Ussishkin, *Or* 40 (1971) 431–437.

57 Eponymy of Dagan-bel-nasir: A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 137 ff., §§ 577–581, cf. also p.192, § 752.

58 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 137 ff., §§ 582 f.

town Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna, was reached.<sup>59</sup> Lubarna submitted, paid tribute and was forced to give military support to the further campaign. The eponymous ruler of Ahanu, Gusi/u, brought his tribute to the victorious king of Assyria. As it seems, the territory of Bit-Agusi had only recently been settled by Aramaeans, because the founder of the dynasty was still alive.

From Kunulua Ashurnasirpal II passed across the river Arantu (Orontes), marched between the Mounts of Yaraqu and Ya'aturu to the river Sanguru and to the fortress Aribua, located at the frontier of Unqi with the land of Luhuti.<sup>60</sup> Barley and straw from the land of Luhuti was reaped and stored inside Aribua as provision for later activities in the region. People from Assyria were settled in the royal city of Lubarna, while other towns in the land of Luhuti were conquered and destroyed.

The next aims of Ashurnasirpal II were Mount Lebanon and the "great sea of the land of Amurru", which was obviously arrived at in the Akkar plain. There the Assyrian king received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arwad, the land of Amurru and further settlements. As it seems, the cities submitted without being captured. Ashurnasirpal then climbed up to Mount Amanus, where wood was cut (cedar, cypress, juniper) in order to be used for building temples in Assyria. It is possible that the Assyrian army followed a coastal route between the Akkar plain and the mouth of the Orontes, although the promontories, bays and swampy parts of the coastal strip may have forced the troops to march along the slopes of the mountains. A memorial stela was erected on the Amanus, before Ashurnasirpal returned home to his residence, Kalhu.<sup>61</sup> Another inscription of Ashurnasirpal II, the "Banquet Stela", mentions envoys from Pattin/Unqi, Hatti, Tyre, and Sidon among those who participated in the inaugural banquet for the new buildings in Kalhu.<sup>62</sup> This points to a peaceful relationship with the Syrian states which had paid their tributes. Thus, northern and coastal Syria was subdued by Ashurnasirpal II during his successful campaign, but without leaving deeper traces in the political landscape. The fact that representatives of the submitted, but, nevertheless, independent Syrian principalities and city-states attended the opening banquet in Kalhu, could indicate that Syria was not affected seriously by the military activities of Ashurnasirpal, except perhaps the land of Luhuti. But the attack of Ashurnasirpal II was the first foray of an Assyrian king up to the Mediterranean Sea since the times of Tiglath-pileser I. The main

59 For Kunulua/Kinalua a location at 'Ain Dara on the Afrin was proposed, but a site in the plain of Antioch should perhaps be preferred (Tell Tayinat?), cf. J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/7-8 (1980) 597.

60 For Sanguru cf. perhaps the modern toponym Jisr esh-Shoghr/Shughur, while Luhuti could be compared with Aramaic L'sh (obviously the Layashum of the Mari texts), cf. J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* VII/1-4 (1987-1988) 159-161. It could be located near the Ghab on the road from Aleppo to Ugarit, not far from modern Idlib.

61 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 141 ff., §§ 584-586; cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 388-390.

62 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 172 ff., § 682; cf. also an inscription from Imgur-Enlil (Balawat) recording the march to Mount Lebanon and the use of timber from this region for the renovation of this city: A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 179 f., § 694.

barrier between the Aramaean principalities and tribes between Assyria and the Syrian littoral was broken down, and the successors of Ashurnasirpal started a new series of campaigns to Syria.

Shulmanu-ashared/Shalmaneser III (858–824) began his attack on Syria during the first year of his reign (858 B.C.).<sup>63</sup> He focused his efforts on Bit-Adini in order to secure this important crossing area of the Euphrates. Ahuni of Bit-Adini was beaten and shut up in his royal city. Another town of Bit-Adini was captured, then the Assyrians crossed the Euphrates “at its flood” and arrived at the western part of Bit-Adini, Paqarhubuni, where Shalmaneser received the tribute of the ruler of Kum-muh. Afterwards the Assyrian army appeared in Gurgum, where the ruler submitted by paying tribute and giving hostages, and turned south to meet with a coalition formed by Hayanu of Sam'al, Sapalulme of Pattin/Unqi, Ahuni of Bit-Adini, and Sangara of Karkamish. The alliance was defeated, and Shalmaneser proceeded to the Amanus region, where a “heroic image” of the Assyrian king was placed, crossed the Arantu (Orontes) and entered the territory of Unqi. Sapalulme was again supported by the coalition, and also by Kate of Qu'e, Pihirim of Hilakku and other local rulers. Nevertheless, the Assyrians were again victorious and received the submission of the rulers of the sea-shore, where another royal image was set up. Then the Assyrians climbed up the Amanus, where cedar and cypress trees were cut and a royal stela was erected on Mount Adalur/Lallar.<sup>64</sup> On his return to Mesopotamia, Shalmaneser conquered various towns of Pattin/Unqi, among them Hazazu ('Azaz), and received the tribute of Arame, ruler of Bit-Agusi.

This campaign of the first full year of reign of Shalmaneser III was of great importance for the future military actions of the Assyrians in Syria. The resistance of the Syro-Hittite states was weakened considerably. When Shalmaneser, in his second year (857)<sup>65</sup>, marched again to the west, he captured the cities of king Ahuni of Bit-Adini, crossed the Euphrates and conquered Dabigu<sup>66</sup> and Sazabe, a stronghold of Sangara of Karkamish. He received the tribute of the rulers of Pattin/Unqi (i.e. Qalparunda), Sam'al (Hayanu), Bit-Agusi (Arame), Karkamish (Sangara), and Kum-muh (Qatazilu).

In the following (third) year of Shalmaneser (856 B.C.), the eponymy of Ashurbela-ka'in,<sup>67</sup> the king captured Til-Barsip, the stronghold of Bit-Adini on the Eu-

63 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 558; 211 ff., §§ 599 f.; 232 ff., § 633, and E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 458 f. and II/1 (1954) 28 f. – For a reconstruction of the route cf. N.Na'aman, Tel Aviv 3 (1976) 89–106.

64 For the Adalur/Lallar mountains cf. GS III 32; G.F.del Monte – J.Tischler, RGTC 6 (1978) 53 f.; N.Na'aman, Tel Aviv 3 (1976) 89–106 (probably Kurt-dagh west of the Kara-Su).

65 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 559; 210 ff., § 601; 232 ff., § 634; E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 458 f. and II/1 (1954) 28 f.

66 Dabiq (Quweiq valley), cf. already E.Honigmann, RIA II (1938) 96. For the bronze band IV of the gates of Balawat see D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 224 ff., § 614.

67 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 560; 211 ff., §§ 602 f. and 608; E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 460 ff. and II/1 (1954) 28 ff.

phrates, and several other settlements. They were renamed, Til-Barsip receiving the name Kar-Shalmaneser and becoming an Assyrian "royal city". Ahuni fled to the other (i.e. western) side of the Euphrates. People from Assyria were settled in a town on the east bank of the Euphrates, called Ana-Ashur-uter-asbat by the Assyrians and Pitru by the local population. The town was located on the Sajur river and had been — like Mutkinu on the east bank — once (re)settled by Tiglath-pileser I. Both cities were now Assyrian strongholds in the area which was of special importance for Assyria because of the Euphrates fords. In Kar-Shalmaneser/Til-Barsip the Assyrian king received the tribute of the "kings of the sea-coast" and the "kings of the bank of the Euphrates".

The first phase of Shalmaneser's campaigns in Syria was finished during his fourth year of reign (855).<sup>68</sup> He pursued Ahuni of Bit-Adini to Mount Shitamat on the Euphrates (north of Bit-Adini, perhaps Jebel Aruda?), took him prisoner together with his troops and deported him to Ashur. This decisive success on the bank of the Euphrates certainly strengthened the position of Shalmaneser in Syria, secured the control of the passage to Syria and favoured the campaigns which followed during the years 853 to 841, the second phase of Shalmaneser's military activities in Syria.<sup>69</sup>

During his 6th year of reign (853) Shalmaneser started a further campaign to Syria.<sup>70</sup> After having received the tribute of the rulers of northern Syria, among them Sangara of Karkamish, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Hayanu of Bit-Gabari/Sam'al and H/Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi, in the city of Ana-Ashur-uter-asbat/Pitru on the Sajur river, he left the Euphrates region for Halman/Halab, where he offered sacrifices before the god Adad/Hadad of Halab. Then he proceeded to the territory ruled by Irhuleni of Hamath and captured Adenni, Barga, and Argana. At Qarqar on the Orontes<sup>71</sup> Shalmaneser met with a coalition headed by Irhuleni (hieroglyphic Luwian: Urhulina) of Hamath and Adad-idri/Hadad-ezer (Ben-Hadad) of Aram(-Damascus). To

68 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 561; 211 ff., § 609; E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 462 f. and II/1 (1954) 30 f.

69 Cf. for the situation J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/1 (1982) 392–394.

70 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 561; 211 ff., §§ 610 f.; 232 ff., §§ 646 f., 666 and 681; E.Michel, WO I/6 (1952) 464 f. and II/1 (1954) 32 f.; cf. the bronze bands of Balawat: ARAB I (1926) 224 ff., § 614 (bands IX and XIII), and the summaries ARAB I (1926) 246 ff., §§ 686 and 691; E.Michel, WO II/2 (1955) 142 f. (inscription on a relief depicting the tribute of Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi), furthermore hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Hama and vicinity dating back to this second phase of Shalmaneser's attack on Syria: J.D.Hawkins, RIA IV/1 (1972) 68.

71 Generally, Qarqar is looked for near modern Jisr esh-Shoghr, located at the northern end of the Ghab plain, where the site of Qarqour could be linked to the name of Qarqar. But archaeological research has not confirmed this location so far. More recently, it was proposed to identify Qarqar with modern Hama, cf. H.Sader, Berytus 34 (1986) 129–134, and id., Les états araméennes de Syrie, Beirut 1987, 222–225. W.T.Pitard, Ancient Damascus, Winona Lake 1987, 127 f. n.79, would prefer the tell of Jisr esh-Shoghr, i.e. the largest tell of the northern Ghab. For the discussion of the date of the battle cf. J.A.Brinkman, JCS 30 (1978) 173–175 (confirming the year 853 B.C.).

this confederation also belonged Ahab of Israel, contingents from Byblos, Musri,<sup>72</sup> Irqata, Arwad, Usanat/Ushnatu, Siyannu, of Gindibu the Arab, from Bit-Rehob and from the Ammonites. As it seems, the rulers of central and southern Syria and their neighbours in Palestine and Transjordan were well aware of the danger and joined forces. Although Shalmaneser claimed the victory and gave a colourful account of the battle, he was not able to beat the Syrian coalition decisively. He ends his report with the description of the battle; there is nothing said about the following capture of cities or prisoners or about a penetration farther into Syria. One text of his annals<sup>73</sup> adds that he sailed "until the middle of the sea" after the battle was fought, whatever this could mean. In any case, for several years Shalmaneser did not set foot on Syrian soil again, and it seems that Assyrian influence suffered a heavy set-back even in northern Syria.

In his 10th year of reign (849),<sup>74</sup> Shalmaneser destroyed cities of Sangara of Karkamish and Arame of Bit-Agusi, and he fought again with the coalition headed by the kings of Hamath and Damascus. During the 11th year (848),<sup>75</sup> he devastated anew territory of Karkamish and Bit-Agusi, marched to the Amanus and turned southward to Hamath, where he captured the city Ashtamaku and numerous smaller settlements.<sup>76</sup> For a third time he battled with the coalition which was again headed by Hamath and Damascus. On his return, Shalmaneser conquered Apparasu, a town of Arame of Bit-Agusi,<sup>77</sup> received the tribute of Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi and cut logs of cedars on Mount Amanus.<sup>78</sup>

In his 12th year (847) Shalmaneser made a foray into the land of Paqarhubuni, i.e. territory of Bit-Adini on the west bank of the middle Euphrates.<sup>79</sup> During his 14th year (845) he fought again the Syrian coalition, a campaign mentioned as the fourth

72 The equation of Musri with Egypt (cf. H.Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 [1961] 143 ff.) is not accepted by several scholars, cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1972, 170 n.19 and p.181 f., who points to the fact that Musri appears among the twelve kings of "Hatti" in the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser III.

73 E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 464 f. (IM 54669, II 33).

74 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 567; 232 ff., §§ 651 f. and 667; E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 466 f. and II/1 (1954) 34 f.

75 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 568; 232 ff., §§ 653-655; E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 466-469 and II/1 (1954) 34-37.

76 Cf. the relief on bronze band XIII of Balawat: D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 224 ff., § 614, where 86 towns/villages are mentioned. Other inscriptions give a total of 89 or even 99 settlements. - For Ashtamaku/Ashtakamu see E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 467 n.38 (north-east of Latakia?). Perhaps identical with Shtumak 7 kms south, of Idlib.

77 For the possible location cf. already E.Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, New York 1918, 78 (north-east of Tell Rifat); E.Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, 26 (Baradja, c. 24 kms east of Kilis).

78 Only in the inscription E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 468 f. (IM 54669 III 9-15), cf. id., *WO* II/2 (1955) 142 f. - Qalparunda of Unqi is identical with the Halparuntiya mentioned in an inscription from Tell Tayinat: J.D.Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 396.

79 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 569; 232 ff., § 656; E.Michel, *WO* I/6 (1952) 468 f. and II/1 (1954) 36 f.

meeting with this confederacy in the summary accounts.<sup>80</sup> As it seems, the expansion of Assyria into Syria, especially the central and southern parts, made little progress as long as the coalition could face the Assyrian attack.

Between 845 and 841 B.C. this alliance broke up. Shalmaneser appeared in northern Syria in his 17th year (842) in order to cut cedars in the Amanus and to receive tribute from the kings of northern Syria.<sup>81</sup> In the following (18th) year the situation in Syria was favourable for an attack on the king of Damascus: Irhuleni had become dependent on Assyria, if we trust in a later statement of Sargon II,<sup>82</sup> while in Damascus itself Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri had been replaced by his former officer Haza'el.<sup>83</sup> It was now Haza'el, the usurper of the throne in Damascus, who had to face the Assyrian attack of the year 841 B.C.<sup>84</sup> Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates for the 16th time; he fought with Haza'el in the region of Mount Saniru (Anti-Lebanon/Hermon area) and pursued him afterwards to Damascus where Haza'el was besieged. The orchards of the Ghuta were cut down and a foray as far as the Hauran was made. The settlements of the region were ravaged and plundered, a stela being erected in the mountains of Ba'ali-rasi, "which is over against the sea" and opposite the island of Tyre.<sup>85</sup> The rulers of Tyre,<sup>86</sup> Sidon and Israel (Jehu) sent their tribute. The gifts from Tyre and Sidon were delivered on ships and are represented on two bronze bands of Imgur-Enlil (Balawat), where they are listed as silver, gold, tin, bronze, and purple wool.<sup>87</sup> On his return to Assyria Shalmaneser III and his army climbed up Mount Lebanon and erected there a royal monument beside that of Tiglath-pileser I. The city of Damascus was not conquered, and Haza'el was able to maintain his independence.

80 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 571; 232 ff., §§ 658 f.; cf. ARAB I (1926) 246 ff., §§ 686 and 691.

81 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 574; E.Michel, WO II/1 (1954) 38 f.

82 J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/1 (1982) 393, with reference to J.Nougayrol, in: A.Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Brussels 1973, 12 f.

83 W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 132–138, considered the possibility that the Biblical tradition of II Kings:7–15 could be incorrect and that it was Haza'el who actually murdered Adad-idri, or that Adad-idri was succeeded after 845 by a Bar-Hadad who was then murdered by Haza'el.

84 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 200 ff., § 575; 232 ff., §§ 663 and 672; E.Michel, WO II/1 (1954) 38 f.; cf. also J.A.Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973) 40–44, and the inscription of the Kurba'il statue of Shalmaneser III: J.V.Kinnier-Wilson, Iraq 24 (1962) 90–115, esp. 93 ff.

85 For discussion cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, 176 f. Is this "royal image" perhaps identifiable with a relief of the Nahr el-Kelb, as already suggested by E.Michel, WO I/4 (1949) 267 footnote 6?

86 As king of Tyre is mentioned Ba'ali-ma-AN-zeri, i.e. Balezoros/Ba'al-azor (II), cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, 167 and 175.

87 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 224 ff., § 614, and E.Michel, WO I/4 (1949) 267 n.7 f. For the tribute of Jehu see the relief and the inscription on the "Black Obelisk", ARAB I (1926) 211, § 590.

In his 19th year (840)<sup>88</sup> Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates again, received the tribute of the kings(l) of Pattin/Unqi and cut cedars and cypresses in the Amanus. In his 20th year of rule (839)<sup>89</sup> Shalmaneser was in alliance with the kings of Pattin/Unqi. He marched to the Amanus and fought with Qu'e. During his 21st year (838)<sup>90</sup> he focused his military efforts again on Damascus. He captured four towns of Haza'el and received tribute from the rulers of Tyre, Sidon, and Gubla/Byblos. Damascus itself did not surrender; it seems that Shalmaneser desisted from further attacks.

During his later years, Shalmaneser III touched upon northern Syria when he was campaigning in Qu'e (years 25 and 26, i.e. 834 and 833). During year 25 he seized a royal city of Arame of Bit-Agusi and made it his own stronghold,<sup>91</sup> while in his year 28 (831) internal conflicts in the land of Pattin/Unqi, which led to the murder of the local ruler (Lubarna II), caused Shalmaneser to intervene.<sup>92</sup> He sent his general Dayan-Ashur who marched to Kunalua/Kinalua; the usurper Surri was killed and replaced by a certain Sasi. A stela of Shalmaneser III was placed in the temple of Kunalua to remind people of the overlordship of the king of Assyria.

The campaigns of both Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III were aimed especially at commercial advantages, not a direct annexation of Syrian territory.<sup>93</sup> Though they were successful, they did not break the resistance of the Syrian principalities and did not decisively defeat Damascus, the head of the Syrian coalition.

Shamshi-Adad V (823–811), the successor of Shalmaneser III, has not left any inscriptions pertaining to military activities in Syria. There is also no reference to a Syrian campaign by this ruler in the eponym chronicles, as far as they are preserved. As it becomes evident from the inscriptions of his son, Adad-nirari III, Assyria upheld the claim to be the overlord of the kingdoms and city-states in north and central Syria, but this was questioned by a rebellion.<sup>94</sup>

The first campaign of Adad-nirari III (810–783) after his accession to the throne was therefore to defeat the rebels and to re-establish Assyrian rule. This happened immediately after his mother Shammuramat had finished her five years of regency. Several display inscriptions (i.e.: no annals) exist pertaining to his campaigns which

88 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 576; E.Michel, *WO II/1* (1954) 40 f. – See also the eponym chronicles pertaining to a campaign to the "Cedar Mountain": A.Ungnad, *RIA II* (1938) 433, and W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 150 f.

89 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 577; E.Michel, *WO II/1* (1954) 40 f. and *WO I/5* (1950) 389–394; eponym chronicle: A.Ungnad, *RIA II* (1938) 433.

90 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., § 578; E.Michel, *WO I/4* (1949) 269: booty of Haza'el, from his residence Malahu, which should be localized in the vicinity of el-Qaryatein, cf. N.Na'aman, *Gött.Miszellen* 63 (1983) 47–51. The eponym chronicle mentions for this year the town Danabu, somewhere in the region of Damascus, cf. W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 149 f.

91 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 200 ff., §§ 582 f.

92 *Ib.* 200 ff., § 585.

93 H.Tadmor, in: H.Goedicke – J.J.M.Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore – London 1975, 36–48.

94 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 260 ff., § 734 (Saba'a stela).



were started in his 5th year, when he took his seat on the royal throne himself.<sup>95</sup> According to the eponym chronicle, Adad-nirari fought in Syria between 805 and 802 B.C.: against the land of Arpad (Bit-Agusi), the city Hazazu (modern 'Azaz), the city Ba'ali,<sup>96</sup> and probably against the cities of the sea-shore (in 802). The reason for these campaigns was to subdue the "eight kings of Hatti" in northern Syria, and also Qu'e, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al and Melid, which were headed by Atarshumki of Arpad/Bit-Agusi, whose influence reached as far as central Syria (cf. the Antakya stela). In Paqarhubuni/Paqirahubuni, the western part of Bit-Adini, Adad-nirari III fought a victorious battle.<sup>97</sup> A slab inscription from Kalhu mentions Hatti (northern Syria) and Amurru (central Syria), and furthermore the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon, the land of the Omri (Humri) dynasty (i.e. Israel), Edom, and Philistia among those which submitted and paid tribute and tax.

Another campaign to Syria focused on Damascus, the only important Syrian state which had remained independent. There is no direct hint to Damascus in the eponym chronicle of the reign of Adad-nirari III, and it seems likely that the year "against Mansuate" (year 796) was the entry for the year when the campaign against Damascus took place.<sup>98</sup> The military action against the centre of southern Syria is mentioned in the display inscriptions of Adad-nirari, where a certain Mar'i is mentioned as the adversary of the Assyrian king.<sup>99</sup> The king of Damascus was shut up in his own capital, surrendered and paid a tribute which is mentioned in some detail.

Officially, Syria was now fully in the hands of the Assyrians. Nevertheless, the degree of submission depended on the strength of the Assyrian overlord. For Shalmaneser/ Shulmanu-ashared IV (782-772) the eponym chronicle notes campaigns "to the Cedar Mountain" (775 B.C.), to Damascus (773), and to Hatarikka (772). A stela discovered at Pazarcik in southern Turkey reports a campaign of Shamshi-ilu, general of Shalmaneser IV, against Hazzanu of Damascus; this could refer to events of the year 773.<sup>100</sup> Evidence of battles fought by the Assyrian king himself did not survive.

95 Saba'a stela, stela from Tell al-Rimah, fragment of a stela from Sheikh Hamad (Dur Katlimmu), slab inscription from Kalhu; cf. H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 141-150. For the Antakya stela see V. Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 5 and 11-14.

96 A.R. Millard, *PEQ* 105 (1973) 161, mentions several possibilities for a location: Ba'al-bek, Ba'ali-rashi (Ras en-Naqura?), or Abila.

97 A.R. Millard - H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 57-64; cf. also the Pazarcik stela.

98 *Ibid.* pp. 61-64, cf. the discussion by W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 160 ff.

99 D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 260 ff., § 735; 262 ff., § 740; St. Page (Dalley), *Iraq* 30 (1968) 139-153; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 166; for the Pazarcik stela see V. Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 8-10, 15-24. - Mari' could be a short form of the king's name, while Bar/Ben-Hadad was perhaps a kind of throne-name of Damascene kings; cf. A.R. Millard, *RIA* VII/5-6 (1989) 418 f.

100 V. Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 8-10 and 15-24, cf. already J.D. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 399-401, and W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 106 f.

As far as Ashur-dan III (771–755) is concerned, the eponym chronicle points to two campaigns against Hatarikka (765 and 755), while for Ashur-nirari V (754–745) an undertaking against Arpad, the royal city of Bit-Agusi, is noted for year 754, probably to be connected with the treaty he concluded with Mati'ilu of Arpad.<sup>101</sup> The main concern of the treaty was to secure the fidelity and military support of this Syrian vassal.

Though Syria had now submitted to the word of the Assyrian king, it was still an entity of its own and was not an integrated part of the Assyrian state. This situation changed when Assyria was ruled by Tiglath-pileser III, who started to join Syrian principalities or larger regions as provinces to the Assyrian core area. It could be that the experience with the Urartian advance up to the border of Syria and the attitude shown by some Syrian rulers under these conditions had convinced the new Assyrian king that it was necessary to establish a closer contact between Assyria and Syria.

## (2) Regional political development.

The campaigns of the Assyrian kings into Syria furnish a chronological frame into which the local or regional political events could be inserted. This concerns especially the scarce information given by a number of native monuments bearing inscriptions in Aramaic, Phoenician or hieroglyphic "Hittite" (Luwian). The Assyrian records are, in addition, helpful in order to determine the chronological place and historical meaning of events mentioned in the Bible and by Flavius Josephus. The following outline history has to focus on some major entities; smaller political units or those which existed only for a short time have to be inserted into this survey in order not to confuse the picture of Early Iron Age Syria more than necessary.

### (a) *Tyre and the urban centres of the littoral.*

The journey of Wen-Amon/Unanun which was undertaken during the early 11th century, and the campaign of Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria to the Syrian coast were already taken as an indication of the fact that the Syrian coastal centres did not suffer so much from the "Sea Peoples". If they were seriously affected, they recovered rather quickly. When centres of the Late Bronze Age disappeared, as was the case with Ugarit, it seems that the attack of the "Sea Peoples" was not the definite cause. The connections between the Aegean and the Levant were not disturbed for a long time, but when they were revived the main region of the sea-trade and long-distance contacts shifted more to the south of the Syrian littoral. It was especially Tyre which was able to gain in importance, both economically and politically. It became the centre for an economic expansion in the eastern and central Mediterranean, the so-called Phoenician colonization.

The first ruler known for Iron Age Tyre is Abiba'al, father of Hiram I and contemporary of David of Israel-Judah. It is uncertain whether he was also the

101 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 265 ff., §§ 749–760; E.Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932) 17–26; R.Borger, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT I/2* (1983) 155–158.

founder of a new dynasty.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps Abiba'al joined the efforts of David to finally break the power of the Philistines. If so, this could have paved the road for a co-operation between Tyre and Israel-Judah as attested for the time of Hiram I, but it could have also contributed to the establishment of Tyre as a maritime power. A first colony was perhaps founded at this time at Kiti(on) on Cyprus; Hiram is said to have crossed the sea in order to suppress a rebellion of this settlement. The event could perhaps belong to the very beginning of Hiram's reign, and the colony should have existed at least from the time of Abiba'al, whose death occurred about 970 B.C.<sup>103</sup>

Hiram I (c.969–936), who ruled for 34 years according to Flav. Josephus (*Contra Apionem* I 117), had close contacts with David and, especially, with Solomon of Israel-Judah. A retrospective mentions "friendship" between Hiram and David.<sup>104</sup> Hiram sent a delegation with greetings to Jerusalem when Solomon ascended the throne (I Kings 5:15, cf. II Sam. 10:2). They made an alliance (II Kings 5:26), to include commercial co-operation, which was enforced during the years which followed: Hiram delivered timber to Jerusalem and sent skilled workers for the building of the temple.<sup>105</sup> He started a joint trading venture to Ophir, the "land of gold", perhaps to be localized in the vicinity of Punt, known from Egyptian sources of the 18th dynasty and located somewhere at the southern part of the Red Sea. The ships were built at Ezion-geber (near Elat) and received crews sent from Tyre.<sup>106</sup> Because of this commercial co-operation and "friendship" Hiram received settlements (I Kings 9:10–14), located perhaps in the plain of Akko with Mount Carmel as the southern border.<sup>107</sup> The presence of wives from Sidon in the harem of Solomon (I Kings 11:1) could corroborate the close ties between Israel-Judah and the Phoenician cities. Israel was in control of one of the northern branches of the land route coming from southern Arabia ("Incense Road"), which led to the Mediterranean Sea. The contacts with South Arabia are condensed in the figure and story of the queen of Sheba, who is said to have paid a visit to her partner in trade, Solomon (I Kings 10:1–10). These commercial links between Israel-Judah and Sheba were of interest also for Tyre and other Phoenician emporia. The co-operation between Tyre and Israel

102 For the following outline cf. the detailed presentation and discussion of all relevant sources by H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, esp. 74 ff. Other chronological dates are proposed by R. Van Compernelle, *AIPHOS* 20 (1968–1972, Gs. J. Pirenne) 467–479.

103 Cf. Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I 119.

104 I Kings 5:15. Hiram placed a labour-force at the disposal of David in order to co-operate in the building of a palace (II Sam. 5:11, I Chron. 14:1, cf. also I Chron. 22:4 and II Chron. 2:2), but it seems unclear whether this really happened at the time of David, cf. H. Donner, *Journal of Northwest-Semitic Languages* 10 (1982) 51.

105 I Kings 5:5–15, cf. I Kings 9:11, 5:32, 7:13 f., and II Chron. 2:2–15.

106 I Kings 9:26–28, 10:11, II Chron. 8:17 f., 9:10. For details see H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 99–113, and G. Bunnens, *JESHO* 19 (1976) 1–31; H. Donner, *Journal of Northwest-Semitic Languages* 10 (1982) 43–52.

107 H. Donner, *Journal of Northwest-Semitic Languages* 10 (1982) 45, with reference to the fact that the names of these places are missing for this reason in I Kings 4:7–19, pertaining to the provinces of Solomon.

could be seen in this aspect too. On the other hand, Israel was able to supply Tyre with its own agricultural products, especially with grain, because the coastal strip did not leave much space for Phoenician agriculture and was used mainly for the cultivation of plants the fruits of which could be exported.

After the reign of Solomon the written evidence pertaining to the political history of Tyre becomes rather meagre, mainly consisting of a list of kings preserved by Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem* I 121–125). According to this tradition, Hiram was succeeded by his son Balbazer (I),<sup>108</sup> who reigned for 17 years (c.935–919). During his time Shoshenq I/Shishak founded the 22nd dynasty in Egypt, but Tyre remained outside the sphere of the reviving military activities of this pharaoh. Nevertheless, Shishak seemed to have supported Phoenician cities other than Tyre, e.g. Gubla/Byblos, in order to decrease the commercial and maritime influence of Tyre. The dynasty of Gubla has left several Phoenician dedication inscriptions, among them a votive text of 'Abiba'al on a statue of Shishak I (KAI 5), which points to a synchronism between this ruler and Balbazer of Tyre, and also to a close contact between Byblos and Egypt.

During the rule of Abdastratus ('Abdi-Ashtart?, c.918–910) of Tyre the city of Byblos was reigned by 'Eli-Ba'al, son of Yehimilk and perhaps brother of 'Abi-Ba'al.<sup>109</sup> This king of Byblos is known by his Phoenician dedication to the "Lady of Byblos" on a fragment of a statue of pharaoh Osorkon I (924–899), successor of Shoshenq/Shishak I (KAI 6). Abdastratus was, according to the list of kings of Tyre (*Contra Apionem* I 122), a son of Balbazer, but chronological problems could question this statement and favour the assumption that Abdastratus was a son of Hiram.<sup>110</sup> At the time of his rule, Israel and Judah divided into two kingdoms and Aram-Damascus made its political profit from this decay of power in Palestine; Tyre had obviously incurred commercial disadvantage from this development.

After the murder of Abdastratus, a certain Methusastartus, son of Deleastartus, ascended the throne of Tyre, ruling approximately from 909 to 898. He was followed by his brother Astharimus (c.897–889), who was killed by his brother Phelles. After having reigned only for 88 months, Phelles was killed by Ethba'al, a priest of Astarte. A link has been proposed between the regime of the kings after Abdastratus with a massive exodus of the aristocratic families of Tyre, which weakened the position of Tyre but gave a new impetus to the founding of colonies in the Mediterranean region.

A new period of commercial and political power for Tyre began with Ethba'al, who reigned for 32 years (c.887–856). Ethba'al belonged to the priestly aristocracy of Tyre and was perhaps related to the royal house of Hiram. After his accession to the

108 Ba'al-eser/azor?, perhaps the same name as that of a later king of Tyre mentioned in an Assyrian royal inscription, Ba'ali-ma-AN-zeri, cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 116 n.2.

109 Cf. W.Herrmann, *MIO* 6 (1958) 14–32, esp. 19 ff.

110 H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 126 f., points to the birth-date of the king Abdastratus in 948, i.e. a year when Balbazer himself was only 13 years old.

throne he became king of the Tyrians and the Sidonians as well.<sup>111</sup> He was an older contemporary of Ahab of Israel, who married a daughter of Ethba'al, Jezebel (I Kings 16.31). During his reign Assyria, ruled by Ashurnasirpal II, campaigned in Syria up to the sea-shore in the region of the Akkar plain. Delegates from Tyre brought a gift/tribute before the Assyrian king, and representatives of Tyre (and Sidon) were invited to attend the inauguration banquet at Kalhu, a fact which could indicate peaceful relations between Assyria and the Phoenician cities, at least during the year 879. Ethba'al was the founder of a new Phoenician colony in Libya and of another emporium at Botrys/Batrun north of Byblos (cf. Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* VIII 324). Perhaps this could be interpreted as a control of Byblos itself, where the local dynasty became extinct some time before. In any case, it seems clear that Ethba'al was able to extend his political influence on the Syrian coast.<sup>112</sup> Tyre itself was a well fortified town with two harbours.<sup>113</sup>

As far as the relations with centres located in inland Syria are concerned, Damascus played an important role as a partner in trade. Damascus was ruled by Bar/Ben-Hadad I, who fought against Israel in the year 883 (I Kings 15:18).<sup>114</sup>

When Ethba'al died after a rule of about 32 years, he was succeeded by his son Balezoros/Ba'al-azor (c.855–830). An Assyrian synchronism of the year 841 links him with Shalmaneser III of Assyria and Jehu of Bit-Humri/Israel.<sup>115</sup> During the battle of Qarqar (853) the dominant Phoenician cities (Tyre, Sidon, Byblos) are not mentioned among the adversaries of the Assyrian king; it could be supposed that they contributed to the Syrian resistance in gold or silver, i.e. in cash instead of sending troops, thus avoiding a direct involvement in the affairs of the states of interior Syria. Tyre also continued to send gifts to Assyria, which could be understood as a tribute. Close relations were upheld with Damascus, mainly for commer-

111 Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* VIII 317, IX 138, cf. also VIII 324 ("King of the Tyrians") and I Kings 16:31 ("king of the Sidonians").

112 From the period of the reign of Ethba'al comes perhaps a Phoenician inscription which was discovered on Cyprus (KAI 30), cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 135 f.

113 H.J.Katzenstein, l.c. 153, believes that it was during the reign of Ethba'al that the artificial southern port was built, cf. also A.Poidebard, *Un grand port disparu: Tyr*, Paris 1939. For a possible representation of Tyre on the Balawat gate cf. R.D.Barnett, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969) 6 n.6. Biblical reference: Ezekiel 27:3.

114 The stela with an Aramaic inscription of a Ben/Bar-Hadad, erected in honour of the Tyrian god Melqart (KAI 201) and discovered at Brej north of Aleppo was attributed to all three bearers of this name (throne-name?) in the scholarly discussion. While H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 138, evaluated this monument as an indicator for the close contacts between Damascus and Tyre, W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 138–144, discusses the problem anew and assumes that the Bar-Hadad of the Melqart stela should be identified with another Aramaean king, not a king of Damascus. For the problem of a throne-name cf. A.R.Millard, *RIA* VII/5–6 (1989) 418 f.

115 Ba'ali-ma-AN-zeri, see F.Safar, *Sumer* 7 (1951) 11 f. = E.Michel, *WO* II/1 (1954) 38 f. For the problem of identity cf. M.Weippert, *VT* 28 (1978) 112–118.

cial reasons. Tyre was practically the harbour for this oasis beyond the Lebanon and Antilebanon; the caravans arriving at Damascus after having crossed the desert obviously unloaded their merchandise from the back of camels on donkeys in order to cross the coastal mountains.<sup>116</sup>

Mattan I (c.829–821) ruled in Tyre when Shalmaneser III died and his son Shamshi-Adad V did not campaign in Syria. It is not known whether the ruler of Tyre was among those who rebelled against Assyrian overlordship and were defeated by Adad-nirari III later on.

When Mattan I died, his successor Pygmalion (c.820–774) was very young.<sup>117</sup> Adad-nirari III fought in Syria between 805 and 802, and Tyre and Sidon appear among the cities and countries which paid tribute to this Assyrian king.

The king-list of Tyre, referred to by Flavius Josephus according to Greek excerpts of Menander of Ephesus (*Contra Apionem* I 121–125), ends with the reign of Pygmalion. The remaining time until the rule of Tiglath-pileser III, when Tyre reappears in cuneiform sources, is recorded only by the biblical tradition. These sources are focused on events which occurred in Palestine yet Tyre certainly continued to play an important role also in the political history of Syria.

#### **(b) *Damascus and southern Syria.***

During the 10th century Damascus had already become the political centre for southern Syria, i.e. the region between the plain of Homs in the north and the Hauran / Jebel Druz in the south. But there is no evidence for the existence of a political entity in this area besides the biblical sources pertaining to the reigns of David and Solomon. David fought against the Aramaean chiefdoms of southern Syria, and the biblical reports on his campaign reflect some aspects of the political situation in this region.<sup>118</sup> Already at the time when David ascended the throne of Israel and Judah, a powerful state called Aram-Zobah dominated most of southern Syria.<sup>119</sup> It was ruled by Hadad-ezer / Adad-idri, “son of Rehob”; it seems he was a native of Beth/Bit-Rehob located on the upper Jordan (II Sam.8:3). Obviously both entities, Zobah and Rehob, were united by the personal leadership of Hadad-ezer. The Aramaeans of Zobah and Rehob fought jointly against David in order to win the

116 Cf. H.Klengel, AAAS 35 (1985) 52 f.; this trade is reflected in Ezekiel 27:18.

117 Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I 125; Justin XVIII 4, 3 f. The sister of Pygmalion, Elissa-Dido, is said to have fled from Tyre to North Africa and to have founded Carthage.

118 For the following outline cf. W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake 1987, 81 ff., with a discussion of all relevant sources. For the interconnection between the history of Damascus and Israel-Judah see H.Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen*, 2, Göttingen 1986, being referred to here as one of the many works of this kind.

119 Aram-Zobah was in conflict with the emerging Israel since the time of Saul, if one follows I Sam.14:47; the reliability of this source is disputed.

control of Ammon in Transjordan.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, Hadad-ezer had some influence also in the Euphrates region; if so, he should have been a kind of overlord of all Aramaean tribes living between the kingdom of Zobah and Mesopotamia (cf. II Sam.10:16). To the south of Zobah, at least two important trade routes were of special interest to both Israel-Judah and Zobah-Rehob: The so-called King's Road between Palestine and central Syria and a route coming from Arabia and joining with the King's Road after having crossed Ammon/Transjordan. The control of these routes was disputed by David and Hadad-ezer (II Sam.10; I Chron.19). The first clash between them took place at Madeba (I Chron.19:7), and the Aramaean forces were pushed back by general Joab and his troops from Israel and Judah. Another battle was fought by David himself, while the Aramaeans stood under the command of Shobah; the army of Hadad-ezer was beaten decisively near Helam (II Sam.10:15-19). David was able to advance far to the north, supported by the fact that former allies left Hadad-ezer impressed by his military success. It seems that even the region of Damascus came under the rule of David at that time. Hadad-ezer's power was now limited to the Biqa', i.e. Zobah, and perhaps some parts of the plain of Homs.

A third battle between David and Hadad-ezer is reported in II Sam.8:3-8; it took place near Hamath in central Syria (cf. I Chron.18:3-8). The army of Hadad-ezer was defeated again. David took the chariots, horsemen and infantrymen as prisoners.<sup>121</sup> He also took booty from Hadad-ezer himself and from the towns of the king of Zobah which were obviously touched upon during the march of the army of David to the battle-field. The presence of Hadad-ezer near Hamath, a principality of its own at that time,<sup>122</sup> highlights the ambitions of this king as well as David to gain control of the important highway leading to the Euphrates via Tadmur.<sup>123</sup>

It is in this connection that the "Syrians" of Damascus appear for the first time in biblical records (II Sam.8:5). They sent troops ("22000 men") in order to support Hadad-ezer and to fight against David of Israel-Judah. David gained the victory and strengthened his control of the Damascus basin by putting governors or/and a garrison there. Damascus became part of the kingdom of

120 For the political history of this period c. also E.Lipiński, *AcAn* 27 (1979) 51-67, and A.Malamat, *Das davidische und salomonische Königreich und seine Beziehungen zu Ägypten und Syrien. Zur Entstehung eines Großreichs*, Wien 1983 (Österr.AdW, Phil.-Hist.Klasse, 407), 31-36.

121 I Chron.18:4 mentions the large numbers of 1000 chariots, 7000 horsemen, and 20000 infantrymen, but the numbers are not reliable. It is of interest, that from the chariot-horses only 100 were taken into the army of David while the others were hamstringed, obviously because there was no need for them.

122 I Chron.18:9-11; II Sam.8:9-11, and J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* IV/1 (1972) 67.

123 I Chron.18:3; II Sam.8:3. The mention of the Euphrates was interpreted differently: Aim of Hadad-ezer (W.T.Pitard, l.c.93), aim of David (E.Lipiński, *AcAn* 27,64), pursuit of the army of Hadad-ezer by David (A.Malamat, *Das davidische und salomonische Königreich*, Wien 1983).

David, who also controlled southern Syria and Zobah, thus having extended his influence as far as the plain of Homs and becoming a neighbour of the kingdom of Hamath.<sup>124</sup>

As a political entity of its own Damascus is known in connection with the name of Rezon, son of Elyada (I Kings 11:23–24). This military leader is said to have been a servant of Hadad-ezer but then to have left his lord at the time when the power of Zobah was in decline. Rezon gathered some warriors, marched to Damascus and seized this city, where he became king – a story which reminds one of the biography of David. The formation of Damascus as an Aramaean kingdom was possible after the death of David and the decay of the political influence of Israel-Judah during the rule of Solomon. According to I Kings 11:25, Rezon was an adversary of Israel “as long as Solomon was alive”, a statement which could imply that the capture of Damascus, then part of the kingdom of Israel-Judah, had taken place already during the early days of Solomon’s reign. During the following time Damascus developed as the leading political power of southern Syria, also dominating the political scene in Palestine, certainly making its profit from the partition of Israel and Judah into two separate and rival kingdoms.

The next ruler of Damascus mentioned in the textual tradition is Bar/Ben-Hadad (I), a contemporary of Asa of Judah and Baasha of Israel (I Kings 15:18–20, II Chron. 16:2–4). He is described as “the son of Tab-Rimmon, the son of Hezion, king of Aram, who dwelt in Damascus”. If we follow those who reject the identification of <sup>\*</sup>Hezion with Rezon,<sup>125</sup> two kings of Damascus have to be inserted between Rezon and Bar/Ben-Hadad,<sup>126</sup> i.e.: Hezion/Hazyran, grandfather of Ben-Hadad and ruling in the 10th century, then Tab-Rimmon, father of Ben-Hadad, ruling until the early 9th century. While there is no evidence for activities of Ben-Hadad north of Damascus so far, biblical sources mention his involvement in a boundary conflict between Israel and Judah. Asa of Judah is said to have sent gold and silver to Ben-Hadad in order to gain the military support of Damascus against Baasha/Ba’esa of Israel. He referred to a covenant dating back to the fathers of Asa and Ben-Hadad and asked the king of Damascus to leave the alliance with Baasha of Israel (I Kings 15:20, II Chron. 16:4). A Ben-Hadad is also mentioned in I Kings 20:1–34 where he appears as an enemy of Ahab of Israel, in evidence as a contemporary and ally of Hadad-ezer of Damascus later on (cf. below). This chronological problem and further questions

124 According to A. Malamat, *Das davidische und salomonische Königreich*, Wien 1983, 39 ff., Hamath was dependent on David in some way as a consequence of the wars against Hadad-ezer. The biblical tradition (II Sam. 8:9–10, I Chron. 18:9–10) mentions only gifts and greetings sent from Hamath to Israel-Judah.

125 Cf. the discussion of the problem by W. T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 100–104.

126 As there are at least three kings of Damascus known bearing this name, which refers to a special relationship to the local god, it was supposed that Bar/Ben-Hadad was a kind of “paradigmatic” name or throne-name; cf. H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen*, 2, Göttingen 1986, 261; A. R. Millard, *RIA VII/5–6* (1989) 419.



of biblical tradition lead to either an identification of Bar-Hadad (then: II) with Hadad-ezer or to a later date for the Aramaean wars.<sup>127</sup>

At the time of Bar-Hadad, the contemporary of Baasha of Israel, occurred the campaign of Ashurnasirpal II into Syria in 878/877, which reached the Akkar plain bordering on the sea, leaving southern Syria untouched. This could be the reason why Damascus did not appear among those cities which sent their tribute to the Assyrian conqueror.

After Bar/Ben-Hadad I the sources mention Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri as king of Damascus. In the Assyrian royal inscriptions he appears from year 6 of the reign of Shalmaneser III, i.e. 853. Together with Irhuleni of Hamath Hadad-ezer headed an alliance which faced the Assyrian expansion during the years 853, 849, 848, and 845. In the battle of Qarqar on the Orontes (853) Ahab of Israel and a certain Gindibu, an Arab leader, also joined their forces with this confederation. Other contemporaries of Hadad-ezer, whose names are handed down in Assyrian inscriptions pertaining to these years were Sangara of Karkamish, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Hayanu of Gabari/Sam'al and Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi. Hadad-ezer seems to have ascended the throne of Damascus some time before 853, because at that time he was already a leading figure in Syria. His death may have occurred during the reign of Shalmaneser III and before the year 841, when Haza'el of Damascus began to appear as the adversary of the Assyrian king.

The fact that Shalmaneser III had to fight, after 853, three further battles with the alliance headed by the rulers of Damascus and Hamath, clearly shows that there was no decisive success of the Assyrian forces as long as the confederacy existed. By sending their military contingents, a number of Syrian, Palestinian, Arabian and southern Anatolian entities obviously agreed with the leading role of Damascus, which was – as is demonstrated by the numbers of soldiers recorded in the Assyrian source (i.e. the Monolith inscription) – the largest contributor to the alliance as far as cavalry and infantry were concerned. As to the number of chariots, Damascus was surpassed only by Ahab of Israel.

After 845 the coalition dissolved, probably in connection with the change of rule in Damascus itself. Hadad-ezer disappeared from the scene;<sup>128</sup> he was replaced by the usurper Haza'el, who reigned from about 844/842 to c.800 B.C. In any case, when Shalmaneser III appeared again in Syria in 841, the former alliance had already dissolved and Damascus was the only power which had to face the new Assyrian attack. Haza'el was also a contemporary of Joram, son of Ahab and king of Israel.

127 Cf. W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 114–125 and id., *BASOR* 272 (1988) 3–21, who prefers the latter solution.

128 II Kings 8:7–15 reports that a certain Ben-Hadad was murdered by one of his officials, Haza'el. On the other hand, cf. the inscription on a statue of Shalmaneser III: E.Michel, *WO* L/2 (1947) 57–63, esp. p.60 (KAH I 30), and for the discussion W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 132–138, who summarizes the problem as follows: "It is possible that the biblical text is incorrect and that Hazael actually murdered Hadad-idri. But it is also possible that Hadad-idri was succeeded after 845 by a Bir-Hadad who was then murdered by Haza'el".

According to biblical tradition, Joram fought against Haza'el but was defeated at Ramoth in Gilead (II Kings 8:28 and 9:14 f.). It was on this battle-field that Jehu was proclaimed king of Israel, thus being also a contemporary ruler with Haza'el. Although the relations between Aram-Damascus and Israel remained strained, Haza'el had to focus his attention on the military activities of Shalmaneser III. During his 18th year Shalmaneser gained the victory over Haza'el and his troops plundered the settlements of the region of Damascus and cut down the orchards; the city itself was not captured. In the 21st year (838) Shalmaneser returned to this region but did not succeed in conquering the capital of Haza'el.<sup>129</sup>

After this year there was no further Assyrian pressure on Aram-Damascus. Haza'el was able to settle his problems with his neighbour in the south, Jehu of Israel. The conflict is briefly recorded in the Bible (II Kings 10:32 f.): Haza'el took the territory of Israel east of the lower Jordan (Gilead, Gad, Reuben and Manasseh, i.e. the Arnon valley and Bashan). He continued his expansion during the reign of Jehu's son Jehoahaz (after c.814). The biblical tradition (II Kings 13:7) points to a reduction of the military forces of Israel by the king of Aram,<sup>130</sup> and the same source (II Kings 13:3 and 22) confirms that Haza'el had a dominant position also in Israel during the lifetime of Jehoahaz.<sup>131</sup> He captured Gath and turned toward Judah; only by gifts, treasures of the temple and the palace, which were sent by Jehoash of Judah, could an attack on Jerusalem be prevented (II Kings 12:17 f.). Thus the territory controlled by Haza'el of Damascus extended far into Palestine; in the north its border ran somewhere south of Hamath, which had surrendered to the Assyrian power.

It was during the time of Mari' (= Bar/Ben-Hadad III?, if this was not a title?), that the Assyrians appeared again before Damascus. Adad-nirari III of Assyria received the submission of the king of Aram-Damascus, who paid a tribute consisting of gold, silver, copper, iron, garments, ivory furniture and other items.<sup>132</sup>

Bar/Ben-Hadad is not only known as an enemy and, subsequently, a tributary of Adad-nirari III of Assyria (810–783), but also as an adversary of king Zakir/Zakkur

129 An ivory plaque discovered at Arslan Tash (KAI 232) bears the name of Haza'el. It was perhaps an Assyrian booty of king Shalmaneser which was left in northern Mesopotamia? Haza'el of Damascus — although the identity is not always certain — is mentioned in some other votive inscriptions, discovered at Arslan Tash (cf. also W.Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 2 [1974] 39 f.), Nimrud (cf. A.R.Millard, in: M.Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, II, 1966, 589 f., and W.Röllig, *Lc.* 48), Samos (H.Kyrieleis und W.Röllig, *Mitteil. des Dt. Arch. Inst. Athen* 108 [1988] 62–75). The first two could be considered as part of a tribute or booty destined for Tiglath-pileser III, the last one is interesting because it mentions Bashan as the place of origin for Haza'el.

130 W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 151, assumes that Israel must have been virtually, if not in actuality, a vassal of Aram.

131 An addition furnished by the Septuaginta (cf. W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 151 f.) could point to the extension of the influence of Haza'el into the region of Philistia west of the Jordan.

132 Cf. the discussion by W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 160–167.

of Hamath and Lu'ash.<sup>133</sup> Together with the kings of Bit-Agusi, Qu'e, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Melid and some others (the names are broken away), the king of Damascus besieged Hazrak, where Zakkur had taken refuge.<sup>134</sup> The text of the stela from Tell Afis mentions a prayer of king Zakkur to the god Ba'alshamem, who promised his support by an oracle. The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and does not answer the question as to why the city was besieged or what the result of the campaign was.

As far as the first problem is concerned, an assumption was brought forward on the basis of an *argumentum e silentio*: there is no evidence for Hamath in the Assyrian inscriptions after the dissolution of the alliance with Damascus. The Syrian states, especially the still powerful Damascus, may have attacked Zakkur because of his pro-Assyrian position. The other proposal refers to the rising influence of Hamath after the addition of Lu'ash, i.e. the area of earlier Nuhashe, by a personal union of Zakkur and the opposition of other Syrian principalities against this development.<sup>135</sup> For a solution of this problem the exact date of the event would be helpful, but it is not possible to be certain so far. The pertinent proposals oscillate between the last decade of the 9th century and about 773 B.C. The result of the war was, it seems, favourable for Zakkur, who erected the stela with the inscription in order to thank his god for his support. But it remains unclear why the siege was lifted — perhaps because of military help by the Assyrians or other events, for example, quarrels between the allies?

✕ Biblical sources (cf. esp. II Kings 13:24 f.) point to successful battles by Joas of Israel against Bar/Ben-Hadad, son of Hazael. If one is allowed to connect the report of I Kings 20–22 with the military conflicts of the reign of Joas and to add, furthermore, the information of II Kings 6:24–7:20 on the siege of Samaria, then these sources could reflect the wars between the reviving power of Israel and the declining power of Damascus.

The new Assyrian attack on Damascus in 773, mentioned in the eponym canon and also recorded in an inscription from Pazarcik<sup>136</sup>, occurred during the reign of Hadrianu of Damascus, who is thus attested as a contemporary of Shalmaneser IV (782–772). Shamshi-ilu, general of the Assyrian king, took tribute from the king of an entity called "that of its donkeys".<sup>137</sup> As there is no further evidence for this ruler, it remains unknown if he was a son and direct successor of Bar/Ben-Hadad III, who

133 KAI 202; most recent historical evaluation: W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 170–174. Lu'ash/La'ash could be the Layashum of the Mari texts.

134 Hazrak/Hatarikka is generally identified with Tell Afis where the inscription on the stela was found; for a different view (site near Tell Afis) see J.D.Hawkins, *RIA VII/1–2* (1987) 160.

135 W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 171.

136 V.Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 8–10, 15–24, cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 399–401.

137 Cf. H.Klengel, *AAAS* 35 (1985) 49–57, for the proposal to understand this designation as a hint to the role of the city of Damascus and its region in the breeding of donkeys which were used in the trade with the Syrian littoral; the local variant of this characterization may have been taken over and perhaps transformed by the Assyrians.

should have died before 773. During the reign of Hadianu Israel had regained its political power under the rule of Jeroboam III (c.782–748). According to a note in II Kings 14:25 and 28, he was able to extend the political influence of Israel to the north, after successful campaigns against Damascus and Hamath. The political status of Damascus at that time is still unclear, but some kind of dependency on Israel could have existed.<sup>138</sup>

No sources are available for the political history of Aram-Damascus until the time of Tiglath-pileser III (see below). The importance of Damascus about this period is reflected by the weight given to the conquest of the city by this Assyrian king – at least in a similar sense as it was important for the kings of Hatti to conquer Babylon. The capture of Damascus was a victory over a traditionally-leading power, though this power had already declined. Now all Syria was in the hands of the Assyrians. The last king of an independent Damascus was Rezon/Rahianu (cf. below). The campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to Syria opened a new chapter in the political history of this country.

### (c) *Hamath and the central plains*

In the fertile plains of central Syria Hamath (Hama) emerged as the main political power. The development of this Aramaean state can be traced back into the very beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.<sup>139</sup> Biblical sources mention a certain To'i (Thoi) as a contemporary of David of Israel-Judah and Hadad-ezer of Zobah.<sup>140</sup> To'i sent his son Joram to David with precious gifts in order to greet and congratulate him because of his victories in Zobah, which had been also an enemy of Hamath. The region of Zobah bordered on the territory of Hamath in the north, where the Biqa' opened to the central Syrian plains. This immediate neighbourhood together with a competition with regard to the control of the caravan routes running there, might have caused military conflicts. Though the biblical record is rather meagre, it nevertheless points to the existence of Hamath as a political entity of its own, ruled by a local dynasty.

The next evidence comes from Assyrian sources of the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859), but without referring explicitly to Hamath. Ashurnasirpal conquered the coast and northern part of Syria during his campaign of 876/875, i.e. territory bordering on that of Hamath, which itself obviously remained untouched. It is possible that Ashurnasirpal II avoided entering the area of Hamath consciously for political reasons.<sup>141</sup>

138 W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 177, thinks that Damascus could have been a vassal state of Jeroboam of Israel and refers to views which consider Damascus even as part of Israel.

139 An outline history of Hamath was given by J.D.Hawkins, *RIA IV/1* (1972) 67–70; cf. also the sources and their evaluation in H.Sader, *Les états araméennes* (1987) 185–230.

140 II Sam.8:9 f., cf. I Chron.19:9 f. and Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* VII 107 f. ("Adoram, son of Thaenus of Amathe").

141 J.D.Hawkins, *RIA IV/1* (1972) 67, considers an equation of Amurru mentioned in the annals (A.K.Grayson, *ARI II* 173, § 586) with Hamath as possible. If this is correct, then Hamath paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II.

Shalmaneser III (858–824) penetrated into the region of Hamath during the campaign of his 6th year of reign (853). At that time Hamath was ruled by Irhuleni (in hieroglyphic Luwian: Urhilinas), son of Paratas(?, Hurrian name?) according to native inscriptions. His relation to the dynasty which had ruled Hamath at the time of David is not known. He ascended the throne before 853, and he headed several coalitions which opposed the Assyrian attacks during the years 853, 849, 848, and in 845 jointly with the king of Damascus, Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri. The Assyrian royal inscriptions mention Adennu, Parga and Argana as “royal cities” of Irhuleni, which were conquered by Shalmaneser III immediately before the battle of Qarqar (853). For the year 848 the capture of Ashtamaku is attested, a town to be looked for in the region of modern Idlib. After the anti-Assyrian alliance had dissolved, Irhuleni was obviously on good terms with the Assyrians.<sup>142</sup>

From the period of Irhuleni of Hamath come three hieroglyphic Luwian dedication inscriptions, and an ivory from Kalhu and worked shells mention his name.<sup>143</sup> According to the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, the territory of Irhuleni of Hamath was rather densely settled. Parga, Ada/Adennu, Qarqar, Argana and Ashtamaku are mentioned explicitly as major towns and – with the exception of Argana – also depicted on the bronze bands of the gates of Balawat.<sup>144</sup>

The son of Irhuleni was Uramatis, attested only by hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions.<sup>145</sup> He (re)built the fortifications of the city, and his texts also mention Halab, Nahrma(?), and some places of the Orontes valley without informing on the relationship with these entities.

The next king of Hamath known from textual evidence is Zakir/Zakkur, ruler of both Hamath and Lu'ash. His stela with an Aramaic inscription (KAI 202) was discovered at Tell Afis and reports a war between a confederacy of Syrian and southern Anatolian rulers, headed by the king of Damascus. Zakkur was besieged in his city Hazrak (Hatarikka), but he escaped from a decisive defeat or personal captivity. It is of interest that the stela of Zakkur is written in Aramaic, not in hieroglyphic Luwian. Perhaps this could be interpreted as a reflection of a change from an “Anatolian” (Hittite) to an Aramaean dynasty. For the years 765 and 755 the Assyrian eponym chronicle mentions expeditions to Hatarikka (Hazrak), but neither the background nor the results are known.<sup>146</sup>

142 After the year 845. A later statement of Sargon II of Assyria points to tribute and tax which were imposed on Irhuleni by his predecessors, cf. J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/1 (1982) 393.

143 Inscriptions Hama 4, Qal'at el-Mudiq and Restan, cf. J.D.Hawkins, RIA IV/1 (1972) 68. See also H.Sader, Les états araméens (1987) 210–212.

144 Bands IX and XIII, cf. D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 224 ff., § 614; E.Michel, WO IV/1 (1967) 35 f. The band XVI shows a battle against (inhabitants of) Hamath; Irhuleni himself may be the figure depicted on band XIII.

145 Hama 1–3, cf. J.D.Hawkins, RIA IV/1 (1972) 68.

146 A.Ungnad, RIA II (1938) 430, 432; cf. also the mention of Hamath and Lu'ash in Aramaic inscriptions on Nimrud ivories: A.R.Millard, Iraq 24 (1962) 42 f.

(d) *Sam'al, Bit Agusi/Arpad and Karkamish in the north.*

Sam'al.

A local dynasty residing at Sam'al, i.e. Zincirli in the northwestern part of Syria, is known from the late 10th century B.C.<sup>147</sup> A Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa (KAI 24) mentions forerunners of this first king with Aramaic or Hittite names: Gabbar is the first of them, followed by Bmh (early 9th century?) and then probably Hayanu, father of Kilamuwa and attested by Assyrian royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III: During the first full year of the reign of this king (858), Hayanu, son of Gabbar, fought against the Assyrians together with Sopalulme of Pattin/Unqi, Ahuni of Bit-Adini, and Sangara of Karkamish, but they were defeated. In the following year (857) Hayanu is mentioned – with Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Sangara of Karkamish, and Qatazilu of Kummuh – as having paid tribute to Shalmaneser. He was perhaps among those “kings of the sea-shore” who paid tribute in the year 856 after Shalmaneser had started a new campaign to northern Syria. Afterwards Hayanu appears in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III under the year 853 (cf. above), proving him a contemporary of the rulers who joined their forces against the Assyrians in the battle of Qarqar, among them Irhuleni of Hamath, Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri of Damascus, and Ahab of Israel. Hayanu himself did not join this alliance; he is witnessed only as one of the north Syrian rulers who paid tribute at the time shortly before the battle of Qarqar was fought.

The date of the death of Hayanu is not known. According to the inscription of Kilamuwa (KAI 24), Hayanu was followed by his son Sh'l, who is said to have done nothing to strengthen the position of Sam'al. His successor was Kilamuwa, who ascended the throne at the time when Shalmaneser III was still alive. In his Phoenician inscription Kilamuwa points to mighty neighbouring kings who exercised strong political influence on Sam'al. The Assyrians gave military help – directly or indirectly – against Kilamuwa's most serious enemy in the west, the Danuna who settled in the region of Adana.<sup>148</sup> Kilamuwa boasts to have positively changed the life of the people of his kingdom. A short Phoenician dedication inscription on a sceptre(?) mentions his name and his father Hayanu (KAI 25).

The next mention of Sam'al in the Assyrian royal inscriptions dates from the reign of Adad-nirari III (810–783). Sam'al is said to have joined a coalition led by Atarshumki of Bit-Agusi, together with other north Syrian and south-east Anatolian principalities. About this time or shortly after a certain Qrl seems to have ruled in Sam'al. He is referred to in an inscription of his son, Panammu (I), who reigned during the first half of the 8th century (KAI 214), and by his great-grandson,

147 H. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*, Beirut 1987, 153–172 (sources, pertinent literature, and discussion).

148 Cf. the historical interpretation of the inscription by M. Fales, *WO* 10 (1979) 6–22. There is a Phoenician/hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual (KAI 26) which was discovered at Karatepe c. 60 kms southwest of Marash on the Ceyhan, written by Asitawanda during the late 8th century B.C., a king who designates himself as ruler of the Danuna.

Bar-Rakib (KAI 215). Panammu I was perhaps a contemporary of Shalmaneser IV (782–772) and Ashur-dan III (771–755); there is no further evidence for his rule, but it is known that he was a predecessor of Bar-sur, mentioned in an Aramaic inscription on a stela of Bar-Rakib for his father Panammu II (KAI 215). Bar-sur was murdered, together with his relatives, by his son Panammu(wa) (II) in connection with internal dynastic conflicts which had seriously affected the prosperity and political stability of the kingdom. Panammu is said to have relied upon the king of Assyria who had installed him as king of Sam'al; the Assyrian ruler was already Tiglath-pileser III.<sup>149</sup>

#### Bit-Agusi/Arpad.

The foundation of the Aramaean dynasty residing at Arpad (Tell Rifat) northwest of Aleppo could be dated to the time when Assyria was ruled by Ashurnasirpal II (883–859).<sup>150</sup> About 876/875 this king campaigned in a land called Yahan. A certain Gusi, then known as the eponymous founder of the dynasty, brought his tribute before Ashurnasirpal. Thus it seems justified to date the establishment of a principality governed by an Aramaean ruler, Gusi, to the time about 900 B.C. The dynasty resp. the principality was called "house of Gusi", i.e. Bit-(A)gusi. Shalmaneser III (858–824) mentions a ruler named Arame, son of (A)gusi, who paid tribute to him in 858. The same source gives witness for Qalparunda of Pattin/Unqi, Hayanu of Sam'al, Sangara of Karkamish, and Qatazilu of Kummuh as contemporary kings. They all paid tribute again in the following years (855, 853 are attested). Therefore Bit-Agusi is not listed among those who opposed the Assyrians in the battle of Qarqar. Nevertheless, during the 10th year of Shalmaneser III (849) the Assyrian king destroyed settlements in Bit-Agusi, and the same occurred in the year after (848).<sup>151</sup> In year 25 of Shalmaneser's reign (834) Arame of Bit-Agusi was still alive; Shalmaneser conquered one of his royal cities (Muru) and made it his own stronghold. This implies that Arame ruled at least for 25 years, being a contemporary of kings such as Irhuleni of Hamath, Hadad-ezer of Damascus, and Ahab of Israel.

Atarshumki, son of Arame, revolted against Adad-nirari III of Assyria (810–783) in the years 805/804. Although he was supported by other kings of northern Syria, he was defeated.<sup>152</sup> A later date of his rule is furnished by the stela from Pazarcik, where a synchronism with Zakir/Zakkur of Hamath is testified.<sup>153</sup> It is also indicated that a conciliation between Atarshumki and Shamshi-ilu, the representative of the Assyrian authority in northern Syria, took place during his later years.

The son of Atarshumki, Mati'ilu, who followed his father on the throne of Bit-

149 For discussion cf. H.Donner – W.Röllig, KAI II pp.229–232.

150 J.D.Hawkins, RLA V/3–4 (1977) 238 f.(s.v. Jahan), also H.Sader, *Les états araméens* (1987) 99–152.

151 The inscription of band XII of the bronze gates of Balawat mentions [ ]agda and Arne as towns of Arame, cf. E.Michel, WO IV/1 (1967) 36 f.

152 See also the entry in the eponym canon for year 805, "against Arpad": A.Ungnad, RLA II (1938) 429.

153 V.Donbaz, ARIM 8 (1990) 8–10, 15–24, cf. J.D.Hawkins, RLA V/3–4 (1977) 239; H.Sader, *Les états araméens* (1987) 108.

Agusi, is known from two important documents: firstly there is the Aramaic text incised on three stelae found at Sfire southeast of Aleppo and recording the treaty of Mati'ilu and a certain Barga'ya of KTK (KAI 222–224).<sup>154</sup> Secondly, there is the loyalty oath sworn by Mati'ilu to Ashur-nirari V of Assyria (754–745), handed down in Assyrian language.<sup>155</sup> The latter was probably formulated at the beginning of the reign of Ashur-nirari V, i.e. in the year 754, when the eponym chronicle notes an expedition to Arpad.<sup>156</sup> Mati'ilu was bound to give military support to the king of Assyria. It is not known if he really joined his forces with those of Assyria, and the few military activities in evidence for Ashur-nirari V may have offered few occasions to do so.

The identity of Barga'ya of KTK, the partner of Mati'ilu in the treaty on the Sfire stelae (KAI 222–224), is still under discussion. It was proposed to see in Barga'ya a king of Hamath and Lu'ash, i.e. the ruler of a principality bordering on Bit-Agusi in the south, or to identify him with the governor of a country east of Bit-Agusi, perhaps Shamshi-ilu, who was by far more important than a mere general of the Assyrian army.<sup>157</sup> The Aramaic text itself hands down to us a similar agreement to that made in the loyalty oath with the king of Assyria, but without mentioning an obligation of military help. Perhaps it would fit into the historical context to date the Aramaic text into the same period as the "treaty" with Ashur-nirari V.

Mati'ilu is not referred to in other textual sources so far. Bit-Agusi (and its centre, Arpad) seemed to have been in a rather weak political position. The event leading to the agreement with Barga'ya could have been a territorial conflict concerning a place called *Tlym*, perhaps to be located in the Euphrates region.<sup>158</sup> Barga'ya and the Assyrians could have reacted jointly and defeated Mati'ilu of Arpad, who was in alliance with "Aram in its totality" and the Anatolian state Musri. This could

154 For recent literature and a new treatment see H.Sader, *Les états araméens* (1987) 120–136. According to A.R.Millard – H.Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 59, Mati'ilu was not the son, but the grandson of Atarshumki. E.Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, Leuven 1975, 59, assumes that it was another Atarshumki who was father of Mati'ilu. J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/3–4 (1977) 239, separates the reigns of Atarshumki and Mati'ilu by the rule of brothers.

155 For references to Assyrian royal inscriptions cf. above; see also R.Borger, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT* I/2 (1983) 155–158 (translation).

156 A.Ungnad, *RIA* II (1938) 430, 432 (eponymy of Ninurta-shezibani).

157 For discussion see J.-M.Durand – A.Lemaire, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfire at l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Paris 1984; H.Sader, *Les états araméens* (1987) 139–142; cf. W.von Soden, *SEL* 2 (1985) 133–141. Til-Barsip itself had the name Mashuwar, mentioned in hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions; this makes questionable the proposed identification of KTK with this city, see J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 131–136. Cf. now also M.Fales, in: L.Canfora – M.Liverani – C.Zaccagnini (eds.), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma, ideologia, funzione*, Roma 1990, 149–173.

158 For a location not far from Emar, perhaps at Tell Haudane c.30 kms. north of Meskene cf. J.-M.Durand – A.Lemaire, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfire et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Paris 1984, 66 ff. The supposed equation with Talhayum is questioned by M.Krebernik, *ZA* 74 (1984) 159.



corroborate the assumption that both documents of Matī'ilu belong approximately to the same historical situation.

### Karkamish.

The history of Karkamish during the period in question<sup>159</sup> is documented by Assyrian records and a number of native monuments with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, which were discovered at Karkamish (Jerablus) itself during the British excavations. One of the texts attests a certain x-pa-zitis and his son Ura-Tarhunzas, both possibly to be placed into the 10th century B.C.<sup>160</sup> As it seems, they were predecessors of the dynasty of Suhis (I), the sequence of which is established by hieroglyphic inscriptions: Suhis I – Astuwatamanzas – Suhis II – Katuwas. Chronologically, these four rulers could belong to the time when the Assyrian attack was beginning (Ashurnasirpal II). In the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III a certain Sangara is mentioned as king of Karkamish; his relationship with Katuwas, i.e. the dynasty of Suhis, is still unclear. It is not to be excluded that he was the successor of Katuwas.<sup>161</sup> Sangara, "king of the land of Hatti", paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II, and chariots, cavalry and infantry of Karkamish were taken as auxiliary troops for the Assyrian army.<sup>162</sup> It was at or near Karkamish that the Assyrian king received the submission of the local rulers "of the lands", coming "down" to Karkamish from their native countries. It was certainly Sangara who sent ambassadors to Assyria on the occasion when the new residence at Kalhu was opened by an enormous inauguration banquet.<sup>163</sup>

When Shalmaneser III started his first Syrian campaign in 858, he had to face a confederacy formed by Sangara of Karkamish, Hayanu of Sam'al, Sapalulme of Unqi, and Ahuni of Bit-Adini. In the year 857, Shalmaneser conquered Sazabe, a fortress of Sangara, and received the tribute of this king, who appears here as contemporary of Qalparunda of Unqi, Arame of Bit-Agusi, and Qatazilu of Kummuh. In 853 Karkamish paid tribute to Shalmaneser III again; the principality did not join the Syrian confederacy battling at Qarqar.<sup>164</sup> Nevertheless, some years later Sangara was an

159 Cf. especially J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980) 438–445, and in: IX Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1986, 263–271. – For archaeological material indicating an imperial Hittite continuity at Karkamish see P.J.James – I.J.Thorpe – N.Kokkinos – J.A.Frankish (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Chronology* 1 (1987) 49–52.

160 Stela A 4 b, cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 384.

161 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 117 ff., § 584; cf. ib. 148 ff., §§ 601 f., and 167, § 656 with footnote 754.

162 It was supposed that Ashurnasirpal II did not directly attack Karkamish, that the submission of the city was not the result of a conquest and also Shalmaneser III avoided a direct confrontation with Karkamish, see I.J.Winter, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 177–197, esp. p. 190.

163 A.K.Grayson, *ARI* II (1976) 172 ff., § 682.

164 Sangara perhaps paid tribute also in 856, when messengers of Syrian rulers appeared before Shalmaneser III at Kar-Shalmaneser, although he himself is not mentioned explicitly; cf. J.D.Hawkins, *RIA* V/5–6 (1980) 444.

enemy of the Assyrians, who captured and destroyed settlements belonging to the kingdom of Karkamish, and the same occurred in the following year.<sup>165</sup> The reports given by the Assyrian king on his activities during the other years make no mention of Sangara of Karkamish. A relief of the bronze bands of the gates of Balawat depicts Sangara as a tributary, but it is not known to which campaign this relief belongs.<sup>166</sup> Sangara died after a rule of about three decades; Karkamish obviously remained a subsidiary of Assyria during the following periods, and it appears again in the written tradition at the time of Tiglath-pileser III.

For the period around 800 B.C., native inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian mention a certain Astiruwas as ruler of Karkamish, whose relationship with Sangara is uncertain.<sup>167</sup> After his death Yasiris (formerly read Araras) was the regent of Karkamish for Kamanis, son of Astiruwas.<sup>168</sup> Kamanis was obviously still very young when his father died. The regency of Yasiris and the early reign of Kamanis were contemporary with the activities of Shamshi-ilu. Unfortunately, the political history of this period and of the "house" of Astiruwas is nearly unknown. As there are no references to Karkamish in the Assyrian royal inscriptions between Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III it seems that Karkamish was dependent on Assyria and regularly sent its tribute. The native inscriptions only refer to the building activities of the dynasty and furnish little information on the dynasty itself.

The Cekke inscription mentions a Sasturas as vizier of Kamanis. According to the Karkamish inscription A 21/22 b+a this Sasturas was the father of Pisiris, who became ruler of Karkamish after Kamanis had died in circumstances which are yet unknown. Dynastic alliances or usurpation could have brought the son of Sasturas on to the throne. Pisiris paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in the year 738, but he ruled independently and did not join the confederacy which was formed at the time when Urartu was expanding but was defeated by the Assyrians after 743 B.C.

165 Campaigns of the years 10 and 11 of Shalmaneser's reign, i.e. 849/848; in the 11th year 97 settlements of Sangara are mentioned (without their names) as captured by the Assyrians, cf. D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 232 ff., § 653; E.Michel, *WO I/6* (1952) 466 f. and *II/1* (1954) 134 f.

166 Band VI, cf. D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 224 ff., § 614.

167 See, with all references to pertinent sources, J.D.Hawkins, in: *IX Türk Tarih Kongresi* 1981, I, Ankara 1986, 263–371.

168 J.D.Hawkins, *AnSt* 29 (1979) 157–162; I.J.Winter, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 191 f., assumes that it was Yasiris who made a confederation with Urartu after the death of Shalmaneser III.

### 3) Syria under Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian rule (c.745–330 B.C.)

#### a) Sources.

From Syria:

As far as cuneiform inscriptions are concerned, only a few texts are available from Syria itself. They are either written by Mesopotamian kings or are due to administrative necessities of individual houses.

- Royal inscriptions: Stela from Asharne (Ghab valley), Sargon II of Assyria: F.Thureau-Dangin, RA 30 (1933) 53–56 (cf.p.104). – Stela from Hama (unpubl.), Sargon II of Assyria: cf. J.Nougayrol, in: A.Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 12 f. n.48. – Rock inscriptions from Wadi Brisa and the Nahr el-Kelb (Lebanon), Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar II: F.H.Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II im Wadi Brisa und am Nahr el-Kelb*, Leipzig 1906 (WVDOG 5, reprint Osnabrück 1978), cf. P.-R.Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (AOAT 4/1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 314–318; R.Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9), Graz 1956, 101 f., § 67 (cf. ARAB II §§ 582 ff.).<sup>169</sup> Stela of Esarhaddon from Zincirli: R.Borger, l.c. 96 ff., § 65 (little relevance for Syria).

Other texts: Family archives from Neirab (date: between Neriglissar and Darius I): P.Dhorme, RA 25 (1928) 53–82, cf. F.M.Fales, OA 12 (1973) 131–142; LEph'al, Or 47 (1978) 84–87; J.Oelsner, AoF 16 (1989) 68–77; L.Cagni, *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990) 169–185. – Tablet from Tyre (Darius I): G.Wilhelm, BaM 26 (1973) 35–39. – Texts from Hama: J.Laessle, in: E.Fugmann, *Hama. Fouilles et Recherches 1931–1938, II/1: L'architecture des périodes pré-helléniques*, Copenhagen 1958, 190 f.<sup>169</sup>

From the textual evidence written in Phoenician only some inscriptions on stone have survived, mostly coming from Byblos and Sidon:

- Gubla/Byblos: KAI 9 (Shipitba'al III?, c. 500 B.C.); KAI 10 (Yehaumilk, 5/4th centuries); KAI 11 (Batno'am, c. 350 B.C.). – Sidon: KAI 13 (Tabnit, 6th century); KAI 14 (Eshmun'azar, early 5th century); KAI 15 (Bod'ashtar,

169 As Hama was destroyed at the period of Sargon II, the tablets should date to the time before, but already with an Assyrian administration of Hama; cf. A. de Maigret, *La Cittadella Aramaica di Hama. Attività, Funzioni e Comportamento*, Rome 1979, 48 f. The texts come from the citadel; they are no proof for the existence of local archives.

5th century); KAI 16 (*Jtnmlk*, son of Bod'ashtart).<sup>170</sup> Hasanbeyli (near Zincirli): KAI 23 (8/7th centuries).

The states of inland Syria mostly preferred the Aramaic language; there are only few texts left from this period:

- Neirab: KAI 225 and 226 (inscriptions of the priestess Sin-zero-ibni and 'GBR, 7th century). — Sfire(?): KAI 227 (loan-document, time of Nebuchadnezzar II, year 34 = 571/570). — Zincirli: KAI 215 (inscription of the statue of Panammuwa II, dedicated to him by his son, Barrakib); KAI 216–221 (inscriptions of Bar-Rakib, late 8th century B.C.).<sup>171</sup>

The hieroglyphic Luwian was still in use, at least during the early phase of the period in question:

- Stela from Meharde-Sheizar (to be joined with a stela now in Beirut): J.D. Hawkins, in: *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Fs. E.Laroche), Paris 1979, 145–156.

From neighbouring countries:

Of far more concern for Syrian political history than the native textual evidence are the texts discovered outside Syria:

- Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions:<sup>172</sup>  
Tiglath-pileser III (Tukulti-apil-esarra, 744–727): *Annals* from Kalhu: D.D. Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 269 ff., §§ 769 f., 772, 777. — Stone slab from Kalhu: ARAB I 280 ff., § 785. — Tablet from Kalhu, dated 728 B.C.: ARAB I 282 ff., §§ 801, 804. — New inscriptions, Kalhu: D.J. Wiseman, Iraq 13 (1951) 21–24 and 18 (1956) 117–129. — Stelae from Iran (Luristan?): L.D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*: Royal Ontario Museum 1972, 11 ff.  
Sargon II (Sharruken, 721–705): *Annals* from Horsabad: ARAB II (1927) 2 ff., §§ 5, 8, 9. — Display inscription, Horsabad: ARAB II 25 ff., §§ 54, 55, 56. — Inscription on a bull, Horsabad: ARAB II 45 ff., § 92. — Pavement inscription, Horsabad: ARAB II 48 ff., § 99. — Cylinder, Horsabad: ARAB II 60 ff., § 118. — Relief, Horsabad: ARAB II 66 f., § 125. — Ashur text: ARAB II 69 ff., § 134. — Slab from Kalhu: ARAB II 71 ff., § 137. — Stela, discovered at Larnaka (Cyprus): ARAB II 100 ff., § 183. — Prism B from Nineveh: ARAB II 106 ff., § 197. — Stela from Asharne (cf. above): F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 30 (1933) 53–56, cf. the unpubl. stela from Hama: J. Nougayrol, in: A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 12 f. n.48 (cf. above). — Stela from Iran

170 For Ba'alshille, son of king Ba'ana, king of the Sidonians, son of king Abd'amun, son of king Ba'alshille, see M. Dunand, BMB 18 (1965) 105–109; W. Röllig, WO 5 (1969/1970) 121–124; Chr. Butterweck, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT II/4 (1988) 582 f. — For KAI 11 cf. J. Starcky, MUSJ 45 (1969) 257–273; W. Röllig, Neue Ephemeris 2 (1974) 1–6; I. Schiffmann, RSF 4 (1976) 171–177. — For KAI 9–12 cf. also E. Puech, RSF 9 (1981) 153–168.

171 See also the translations by W. C. Delsman, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/6 (1985) 628–630, ibid. 630–632 (KAI 216–218), and TUAT II/4 (1988) 573 f. (KAI 225).

172 Cf. R. Borger, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT I/4 (1984) 370–407.

(Najafehabad near Kangavar): L.D.Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*: Royal Ontario Museum 1972, 25 ff. (716 B.C.).

Sennacherib (Sin-ahhe-eriba, 704–681): *Annals* (prism inscriptions): ARAB II 115 ff., §§ 239, 309 f., 319, 326, 347. Cf. now the "Jerusalem Prism": P.Ling-Israel, *Bar Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, dedicated to Pinhas Artzi (ed. by J.Klein and A.Skaist), Ramat Gan 1990, 213–248.

Esarhaddon (Ashur-ahhe-iddina, 680–669): cf. ARAB II 199 ff. and, more recently: R.Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9), Graz 1956: Building inscription, Ashur: p.8 § 5 (ARAB II § 721). – Nineveh texts: 36 ff., § 27 (ARAB II §§ 499 ff.). – Ashur alabaster tablet: 78 ff., § 57 (ARAB II §§ 709 ff.). – Treaty with Ba'al of Tyre: 107 ff., § 69 (ARAB 586 ff.), cf. R.Borger, in: O.Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT I/2* (1983) 158 f., and S.Parpola – K.Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (State Archives of Assyria, II), Helsinki 1988, XIX and p.24–27. – Fragments of the annals: 109 ff., §§ 72, 74, 76 (ARAB II §§ 542 ff.).

Ashurbanipal (Ashur-ban-apli, 668–627): *Annals* (cylinder texts) from Nineveh: ARAB II 290 ff., §§ 779, 783, 830, 847 f., 876. – Tablet concerning the rebuilding of the temple of Sin at Harran: ARAB II 348 ff., §§ 912 f. – Building inscription (cylinder), evidently from Warka (Uruk/Erech): ARAB II 373 ff., § 970.

Nebuchadnezzar II (Nabu-kudurri-usur, 604–562): Rock-inscriptions from Wadi Brisa and Nahr el-Kelb (Lebanon): cf. above, sources from Syria. – Brick inscription from Babylon: cf. St.Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (VAB 4), Leipzig 1912, no.37, and P.-R.Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (AOAT 4/1), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 207.

### Chronicles:

A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources, V), Locust Valley, N.Y. 1975 (cf. chronicles 1 and 14 for Esarhaddon, chronicles 2 and 4 for Nabopolassar, chronicle 5 for Nebuchadnezzar II, chronicle 7 for Nabonidus and their Syrian relations).

### Administrative texts and letters of Mesopotamia:

From the period of Tiglath-pileser III Syria became successively part of the Assyrian empire. Toponyms of Syria now appear in various bodies of administrative texts and letters, but mostly without a special bearing on the political history; for references see S.Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, cf. also G.B.Lanfranchi – S.Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and North-eastern Provinces* (State Archives of Assyria, V), Helsinki 1990 (nos.243, 291, 295). The Assyrian eponym canon contains mentions of expeditions against Arpad (743, 742, 740) and Damascus (733, 732), cf. A.Ungnad, *RLA II* (1938) 430 f.

Other sources:

At Gezer in Palestine two Neo-Assyrian documents were discovered; one is dated by the eponymy of a certain Ahi-ilaya, governor of Gargamis/Karkamish (year 649), see B.Becking, JEOL 27 (1981-1982) 76-89.

At Saqqara (Egypt) an Aramaic papyrus fragment was found, a letter of an Asiatic vassal to the pharaoh: KAI 266.

Biblical texts refer to the Assyrian and Babylonian campaigns against Syrian states or cities, cf. especially II Kings, II Chron., Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah. Flavius Josephus, beside his comment on biblical records, points to the attack of Shalmaneser IV of Assyria (726-722) against Samaria and his campaigns in Syria which are not handed down in his own inscriptions.

*b) Outline history.*

**(1) The Neo-Assyrian period.**

The reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) brought about a change in the relations between the Assyrian central power and Syria. Seasonal campaigns with subsequent submission of the local Syrian rulers were now replaced by a policy of total conquest and integration of territories into the Assyrian empire as provinces, governed by Assyrian officials.

Tiglath-pileser III began his rule under pressure from internal problems raised by insurrections and a growing independence of the local governors, and also the strong political influence exercised by the king Sarduri II of Urartu on northern Mesopotamia, south-east Asia Minor and northern Syria. The alliance headed by the king of Urartu and Mati'ilu of Bit-Agusi/Arpad was defeated in the 3rd year of Tiglath-pileser, i.e. in 743.<sup>173</sup> The battle took place in the land of Kummuh in southeastern Anatolia; Sarduri avoided from being taken prisoner. Tiglath-pileser penetrated into northern Syria and started to besiege Arpad, the capital of Bit-Agusi. As the following years (742-740) are designated in the Assyrian eponym canon by the name of Arpad as the principal adversary,<sup>174</sup> the siege possibly lasted for three years. There is no information concerning the outcome of the siege and the fate of Mati'ilu of Arpad, but the textual evidence for the subsequent years could point to a conquest of the city and to the fact that the reign of Mati'ilu ended about this time. In this connection the annals mention a number of Syrian and other rulers who paid tribute to the Assyrian king during his stay at Arpad, amongst whom are listed Rasunni/Resin of Aram-Damascus, Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Urik(ki) of Qu'e, Pisisiris of Karkamish, Tarhulara of Gurgum, and a king of Tyre who, although the name is broken off in the

173 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB I (1926) 296 ff., § 769; 280 ff., § 785; 291 f., § 813. See also J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/1 (1982) 409-434 and H.Sader, Les états araméens (1987) 117 f.

174 A.Ungnad, RIA II (1938) 430.

text, certainly was Tuba'il/Ethba'al II.<sup>175</sup> A revolt of Tutammu of Unqi/Pattin followed, joined by "19 districts of Hamath" with Hatarikka in the north and cities of the Syrian littoral, among them Gubla/Byblos, Usnu (Ushnatu), Sianu (Siyannu), and Simirra (Sumur), lead by Azriya'u.<sup>176</sup> Tiglath-pileser conquered the land of Tutammu of Unqi and deported the "treaty-breaker" Tutammu and his courtiers to Assyria. The city of Kinalia/Kunulua was captured and made the capital – with the name Kullani – of an Assyrian province. The event is mentioned in the eponym canon for the year 738.<sup>177</sup> The devastated country of Unqi was partly resettled by captives taken by Tiglath-pileser in other areas; some towns of the littoral (Simirra, Arqa, Usnu, Sianu) were supplied with labour-force taken as prisoners in other regions.<sup>178</sup>

Tiglath-pileser III received tribute from many rulers who are mentioned in his annals and in the inscription of a stela.<sup>179</sup> Their names indicate the synchronism of various Syrian kings: Rasunnu/Resin of Aram-Damascus, Hiram (II) of Tyre (and his predecessor, Tuba'il/Ethba'al II), Sibittiba'al (Shipitba'al II) of Gubla/Byblos, Urik(ki) of Qu'e, Pisiris of Karkamish, Enr'il of Hamath, and Panammu (II) of Sam'al; at the same time Menahem of Samaria (Israel), Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Sulumal of Melid, Wassurme of Tabal, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Urballa/Warpalawas of Tuwana, and Zabibe, queen of Arabia were also reigning. The exact chronological place of the date when the tribute was paid has not been determined.

More important than the payment of a tribute was the integration of Syrian territories into the Neo-Assyrian empire as provinces. Besides Arpad (Bit-Agusi), Kullani (Unqi) and two further provinces were established: Hatarikka (i.e. the region around Tell Afis southwest of Aleppo, bordering Unqi) and Simirra (Tell Kazel in the Akkar plain).<sup>180</sup> A considerable and economically important part of Syria came under direct control of the Assyrian administration.

After Tiglath-pileser III had spent some years fighting against enemies in the north and the east of Assyria, he had to focus anew on Syria, especially on Damascus.<sup>181</sup> Resin (Rahianu) of Damascus had made an alliance with Pekah of Israel against Ahaz of Judah; they besieged Jerusalem without being able to capture the city. Ahaz is said

175 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 269 ff., § 769; 282 ff., § 797. Cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 194.

176 The latter is certainly not identical with Azariah of Judah, as is generally supposed; cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 410 f.

177 Cf. A.Ungnad, *RIA II* (1938) 431; annals: D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 629 ff., § 769, and 292 ff., §§ 815 and 821. For the political situation cf. K.Kessler, *WO VIII/1* (1975) 50–52.

178 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 269 ff., § 772; 294 § 821.

179 *Ibid.* 269 ff., § 772; L.D.Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran: Royal Ontario Museum 1972*, 11 ff.; see the discussion by M.Weippert, *ZDPV 89* (1973) 26–53; M.Cogan, *JCS 25* (1973) 96–99; J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 411–413.

180 K.Kessler, *WO VIII/1* (1975) 59–63 (with evaluation of an additional fragment from Kalhu), cf. H.Klengel, *Klio 66* (1984) 5–16.

181 Cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 413–415; W.T.Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 179–189.

to have asked the Assyrians, who were eager to make use of the occasion, for help. Tiglath-pileser campaigned first in Philistia,<sup>182</sup> proceeding to Gaza, where the local ruler, Hanunu, fled to Egypt. After the annexation of Gaza Tiglath-pileser subjugated (again) some Syrian coastal cities between Arwad and Tyre.<sup>183</sup> King Hiram (II), who is said to have "conspired" with the king of Damascus,<sup>184</sup> brought his tribute before the Assyrian king. It seems that his rule ended shortly after these events, because Tiglath-pileser received an enormous amount of gold (150 talents) from Metenna/Mattan (II), who had succeeded Hiram on the throne of Tyre.<sup>185</sup> Mattan sent tribute perhaps because of the necessary acknowledgement of his accession by the Assyrian king.

The attack on Damascus (and Israel) followed during the next year (733). After the conquest of coastal places which were closely connected with Damascus by both economic and political ties, Damascus was besieged. Very little is known about the fall of the city in 732; besides the eponym chronicle there is only a rather meagre account available in the annals, pointing to the capture of the ancestral house of Rezin after a siege and the taking of other settlements of the region.<sup>186</sup> The event is reflected in II Kings 16:9, where the death of Rezin is reported. During the battle king Pannamu(wa) II of Sam'al, a faithful vassal of Tiglath-pileser according to a native source,<sup>187</sup> also met his death; he was honoured by an Assyrian stela "erected along the road", the corpse being brought to Assyria.

The state of Aram-Damascus was not revived. Damascus became the capital of an Assyrian province, which was formed by the central part of the former Aram. Other territories were added to provinces in southern Syria, such as Hauran, Qarnim (southwest of Damascus), Mansuate (north of Damascus), and Subite (Zobah, bordering on Hamath).<sup>188</sup> Thus, Damascus was not the southernmost province, and even in Palestine local rulers or cities were tributaries of Tiglath-pileser III.<sup>189</sup> Tyre

182 Cf. D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 (1951) 21–26, and 18 (1956) 117–129; in general: B. Oded, *ZDPV* 90 (1974) 38–49, according to the eponym chronicle, year 734 (RIA II 431), and the biblical tradition (II Kings 16:5–9, II Chron. 28:16–21).

183 D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 18 (1956) 125, and *Iraq* 26 (1964), 118–124; K. Kessler, *WO* VIII/1 (1975) 57 f.

184 D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 18 (1956) 117–129, line 5 of the text; cf. also H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 213.

185 D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB I* (1926) 282 ff., § 803, cf. H.J. Katzenstein, *Lc.* 218 f.; M. Cogan, *RIA* VII/7–8 (1990) 590.

186 D.D. Luckenbill, *Lc.* 269 ff., § 777, cf. W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) 187. Hadaru, "the father's house" of Rezin, was equated by E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* (1920) 62, with el-Hadhr southwest of Damascus.

187 KAI 215, statue set up by Barrakib of Sam'al in honour of his father Panammu with an Aramaic inscription, discovered in Zincirli.

188 E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* (1920), identified Kurussa and Metuna, mentioned in the *Annals* (*ARAB I* § 777), with el-Breqa in the province Qarnini and Imtan in the province Haurina.

189 Cf. H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 12 (1962) 114–122, and H. Sader, *Les états araméens* (1987) 265–268.



(Surri) remained formally independent with Mattan II and his successor Eloulaios/Luli as kings. It seems certain that Assyria made use of the trade connections and craft capacities, and it could be assumed that Tiglath-pileser saw his advantage more in the continuity of local government than a change of the status of Tyre into the residence of an Assyrian provincial governor. A short text dating back to the time after the fall of Damascus could indicate a resurrection of Tyre,<sup>190</sup> but Tiglath-pileser obviously did not react.

The successor of Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser V (726–722), has not handed down inscriptions concerning military activities in Syria. A later report of Flavius Josephus, which refers to annals of Tyre as the original source, informs us that Shalmaneser campaigned in Syria and besieged Tyre for five years, after Sidon, Ushu (Old Tyre) and Akko had already submitted (Ant.Jud.IX 14).<sup>191</sup> His fight with Hoshea of Israel and Hezekiah of Judah, and the siege of Samaria are known from biblical sources<sup>192</sup> and a Babylonian chronicle.<sup>193</sup> This could imply that Assyrian rule in Syria remained nearly undisturbed. It was also supposed that Sam'al (and Qu'e) were transformed into Assyrian provinces at the time of Shalmaneser V.<sup>194</sup> In Sam'al, where Barrakib, who had been installed by Tiglath-pileser III, ruled from the death of his father during the battle of Damascus, a number of monuments were excavated which have their origin in this period; some Aramaic inscriptions (KAI 215–221), carved on his orders, corroborate the impression that he was a loyal follower of Tiglath-pileser. Shalmaneser, who campaigned in the region of Tabal, could well have also entered the territory of Sam'al.

More evidence is available for the reign of Sargon II (721–705), who had to face a rebellion of Yaubi'di of Hamath. Sargon called him a "camp-follower with no claim to the throne, an evil Hittite".<sup>195</sup> The provinces of Arpad, Simirra, and Damascus, and probably also Hatarikka joined the rebellion of Yaubi'di, which was furthermore backed by Egypt and supported by Gaza and Samaria. Sargon II notes this revolt in the second year of his reign, i.e. 720. It seems probable that the change from Shalmaneser V to Sargon II stimulated the western dependents in opposing the Assyrian domination.<sup>196</sup> The decisive battle was fought – as in the time of Shalmaneser III – at Qarqar on the Orontes, in the land of Hamath. Yaubi'di was taken

190 During the years 731–729, according to M.Cogan, JCS 25 (1973) 98.

191 See also R.Rebuffet, *Semitica* 26 (1976) 71–79; H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 220.

192 II Kings 17:1 – 18:11, cf. also Flavius Josephus, Ant.Jud. IX 15.

193 A.K.Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley N.Y. 1975, 73 (chronicle 1, I 28); cf. S.Timm, WO XX/XXI (1989–1990) 62–82; N.Na'aman, *Biblica* 71 (1990) 206–225.

194 The basis is only an *argumentum e silentio*, because Sam'al and Qu'e are not mentioned among the provinces of the time of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, see J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/ 1 (1982) 415 f.

195 D.D.Luckenbill, ARAB II (1927) 25 ff., § 55.

196 Ibid. 2 ff., § 5; 25 ff., §§ 55 f.; 45 f., § 92; 48 ff., § 99; 60 ff., § 118; 66 f., § 125; 69 ff., § 134; 100 ff., § 183; L.D.Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*: Royal Ontario Museum 1972, 25 ff., col. II 4 ff. (year 716).

prisoner together with his family and many of his warriors. He was brought to Assyria and flayed alive. Qarqar, his "favoured city", was burnt down. Hamathite troops were levied for the Assyrian army, tribute and tax were imposed. People from other countries were settled in the land of Hamath,<sup>197</sup> and several stelae with inscriptions were set up at important places in order to commemorate this victory of Sargon II, among them at Hama itself, at Asharne, and at Sheizar.<sup>198</sup> Hamath became an Assyrian province and was then governed by an Assyrian official.<sup>199</sup>

During the 5th year of his reign (717), after a campaign against Mita of Mushku (Midas of Phrygia), Sargon intervened again in Syria. This time his military efforts were focused on Karkamish, the last state in the interior of Syria which was ruled by its own dynasty.<sup>200</sup> Pisiris of Karkamish, who was accused by Sargon of having conspired with Mita, was defeated. Karkamish was destroyed and the royal family was deported, together with other "Hittite" people of the region. A large booty was transported to the Assyrian core area. The deported population were replaced by Assyrian people, an indication of the importance given to Karkamish and its role in the strategy of the Assyrian empire. Karkamish and its territory were transformed into an Assyrian province. During the following years Sargon also annexed the Neo-Hittite states in southeast Anatolia, and his enemy Mita was defeated definitely – not by the Assyrians but by the Cimmerians who invaded Asia Minor.

As far as the Syrian littoral is concerned, only Tyre – perhaps representing all Phoenicia – is mentioned among the centres which were subdued,<sup>201</sup> but nothing else is known about this "submission" so far. Thus, inland Syria was now part of the Assyrian empire, governed by Assyrian officials, while the coastal centres and Sam'al were still under local dynasties. It seems that Sam'al became an Assyrian province shortly after, at least before the reign of Esarhaddon.<sup>202</sup> Syrian toponyms now begin to appear in the administrative texts of Assyria without connection to political affairs,

197 The Manneans (ARAB II § 6) and the Medes (ARAB II § 56) are both mentioned; among the latter also appear Dayukku/Deiokes with his family. Also Assyrians are mentioned as new settlers (ARAB II § 183).

198 Stela of Hama (unpubl.) cf. J.Nougayrol, in: A.Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 12 n.48; Asharné: F.Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 30 (1933) 53–56; for Sheizar cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 417. The text of the Asharne stela mentions the land of Hamath and Hatarikka. A prism from Nineveh points to Sam'al, Hamath, Damascus, and the setting up of a stela in the land of Hamath, see D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB* II (1927) 104 ff., § 197.

199 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB* II (1927) 100 ff., § 183.

200 *Ibid.* 2 ff., § 8; 45 ff., § 92; 48 ff., §§ 137 f.; L.D.Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran: Royal Ontario Museum* 1972, 25 ff., col.II 20 ff. – For some archaeological evidence cf. J.D.Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 (1982) 418, and I.J.Winter, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 193 f.

201 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB* II (1927) 60 ff., § 118.

202 For the year 681 the name of an Assyrian governor is mentioned in the eponym chronicle, see A.Ungnad, *RIA* II (1938) 426 f.

and the names of governors of Syrian provinces are attested in documents, mostly as toponyms.<sup>203</sup>

Nevertheless, Sennacherib (704–681) was again active in Syria. His 3rd year of rule (701) saw him campaigning in Phoenicia and Palestine.<sup>204</sup> In Phoenicia Sennacherib fought against Luli (Eloulaios), king of Tyre and of the Sidonians, who had already been an adversary of Shalmaneser V. Sidon and other Phoenician centres surrendered immediately, and the “kings of Amurru” sent tribute to the Assyrian king while he camped near Ushu opposite Tyre. Luli and his family fled by ship from Tyre, an event which is depicted on an Assyrian palace relief,<sup>205</sup> to Yadnana (Cyprus) “into the midst of the sea”. There he probably took refuge at Kition, a stronghold of Tyre on this island for a long time. Sennacherib separated Sidon from Tyre and installed Tuba’il/Ethba’al as king of this city, who had to pay a regular tribute. Appearing among those who sent their tribute also Abdili’ti of Arwad and Urumilki of Gubla/Byblos.<sup>206</sup> Luli, although having left Tyre, remained king of this city, but it is not known that he ever returned. He died on Cyprus about the year 694, i.e. during the time of the 6th campaign of Sennacherib.<sup>207</sup>

In a later text Sennacherib points to deported people from Tyre who were forced to work with baskets and mold bricks when he built his palace in Nineveh.<sup>208</sup> “Men of Hatti” were employed as experts when ships were constructed and sailed down the Euphrates and the Tigris against Chaldaea and Elam; sailors from Tyre, Sidon and Cyprus are mentioned explicitly in the account of the 6th campaign.<sup>209</sup> A reflection of these events, which seriously affected the power and economic wealth of Tyre, is to be found in the biblical tradition, where the time before the attack of Sennacherib is contrasted with the time after it.<sup>210</sup>

During the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669), Phoenicia was again the aim of military campaigns. Abdimilkutti of Sidon, a contemporary of Ba’al (I) of Tyre,

203 A. Ungnad, *RIA II* (1938) 426 f.; J.D. Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 425 f. — For Syrian toponyms in Neo-Assyrian texts see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970; cf. also J.V. Kinnier-Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (Cun. Texts from Nimrud, I, 1972) nos. 91, 93 (Karkamish); J.N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (Cun. Texts from Nimrud, II, 1973) nos. 1, 215 (Karkamish); S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (AOAT 5/1, 1970) no. 309 (Arpad), etc.

204 D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB II* (1927) 115 ff., § 239; 140 ff., §§ 309 ff. and 326; 153 ff., § 347. For Sennacherib's conflict with Hezekiah of Judah see also Flavius Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* X, 1.

205 See, e.g., R.D. Barnett, *Archaeology* 9 (1956) 87–97, esp. 91.

206 It was supposed that Tuba'il of Sidon “was obliged to pay the yearly tribute that the king of the Sidonians owed to his Assyrian overlord, including the debt of Luli/Eloulaios for the preceding years”, see H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 248.

207 D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB II* (1927) 140 ff., §§ 309 and 346.

208 *Ibid.* II 165 ff., § 383, cf. H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 256.

209 *Ibid.* II 140 ff., § 319, cf. § 329 and 153 ff., § 350.

210 Isaiah 23:1–14, cf. H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 249 f.

rebelled against Assyria.<sup>211</sup> He gained the support of Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissu in Cilicia. Esarhaddon captured and sacked Sidon during the campaign of his 4th year of reign (677), and then he proceeded against Sanduarri. Both Abdimilkutti and Sanduarri were taken prisoners and beheaded.<sup>212</sup> Deported people from Phoenicia and Cilicia, obviously belonging to the aristocracy of their native lands, were forced to carry the heads of their former kings while Esarhaddon celebrated his victory in Nineveh. A rich booty was brought to Assyria and deportees were settled there. The rulers of the land of Hatti (northern Syria) and the Syrian littoral were assembled and had to build a new harbour called "Kar-Esarhaddon", which was settled afterwards with people from various villages/towns of the vicinity of Sidon and also with prisoners taken in the eastern parts of the empire. The area received an Assyrian official as governor and had to pay higher tribute and to send more gifts than before. Esarhaddon certainly intended immediately to share in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean without being dependent on the Phoenician traditional centres. Probably he also wished to diminish the maritime power of Tyre and Sidon. Ma'rubbu and Sarepta, two towns located in the neighbourhood of Tyre, were handed over to Ba'al, who in turn had to pay a higher tribute than before.

Ba'al I of Tyre, who maintained good relations with Egypt as a partner in trade, tried to restore the political influence of Tyre among the centres of the Levant. The treaty he concluded with Esarhaddon confirms that he had an important position in this region.<sup>213</sup> The partly damaged beginning of col. III demonstrates that Ba'al was a subordinate to an official of the Assyrian king. On the other hand, the text points to the consultative function of a council of elders. The following section of the treaty is concerned with a possible wreck of a Tyrian vessel; in case the event happened in Philistia or in the part of the coast directly controlled by Assyria, the load should be handed over to the Assyrian king, whereas the crew would be free to return to the native countries. Then follows a stipulation about the ports and trade roads which were open to the Tyrian merchants; the partly broken text mentions Akko and Dor in Philistia, and all the harbours along the coastal mountains including Gubla/Byblos.<sup>214</sup> The last column contains the curses and the names of Assyrian and Phoenician gods who should punish Ba'al of Tyre in case he broke the treaty.

The agreement between Esarhaddon and Ba'al I was perhaps not immediately concluded after the success of Esarhaddon against Sidon (677/676), but in the time

211 R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* (1956) 48–50 (§ 27) and 86 (§ 57), cf. 110 (§§ 72, 74); A. K. Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 83 (chron. 1) and 126 (chron. 14: Esarhaddon chronicle). For Kundu and Sissu see J. D. Hawkins, *CAH III/1* (1982) 427 f. (with earlier bibliography).

212 The Babylonian chronicle 1 notes that Abdimilkutti was executed in the month Tishri, year 5 of Esarhaddon, while the beheading of Sanduarri was in the month of Adar of the same year: A. K. Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 83, col. IV 6–8, cf. *ibid.* 126, line 14.

213 R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* (1956) 107–109 (§ 69); for a recent translation see R. Borger, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), *TUAT I/2* (1983) 158 f. (with bibliography), for the date (c. 671) and interpretation cf. also H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 267–276.

214 For an interpretation of the treaty cf. also G. Pettinato, *RSF III/2* (1975) 145–160.

when Assyria had successfully campaigned against Egypt, i.e. after 674.<sup>215</sup> It seems possible that after the victory of Terhaqah of Egypt the traditional ties between Tyre and Egypt were strengthened and Ba'al was able to gather allies in order to oppose the Assyrians. Esarhaddon was well aware of the danger of losing his control on the Levant and marched from Ashur to Phoenicia (10th year, i.e. 671); the aim of the campaign was to defeat Ba'al and his "friend" Terhaqah.<sup>216</sup> Esarhaddon besieged Tyre, while the rest of his army marched to Egypt, captured Memphis, the residence of Terhaqah, with all its treasures and the family of the pharaoh. Terhaqah himself was wounded during the fighting several times but escaped. Under the impression of this Assyrian victory Ba'al might have surrendered. In any case, he submitted to Esarhaddon, sent princesses with rich dowries to Assyria, where they were certainly considered as a pledge for the future loyalty of the king of Tyre, and paid a heavy tribute. Ba'al lost all his territories on the mainland, but he remained the ruler of the city-island of Tyre.

Ba'al continued to rule during the time when Ashurbanipal (668–627) had ascended the throne of Assyria. Ashurbanipal also inherited from his father the rule over the "lands of Hatti", i.e. the territories of the former states of inland Syria with a "Hittite" (Luwian) or Aramaean tradition. But he also had to face the conflict with Egypt, and during his first campaign Ashurbanipal therefore marched against Terhaqah.<sup>217</sup> Ba'al of Tyre, Yakinlu of Arwad and Milki'ashapa of Gubla/Byblos appear among the "22 kings of the sea coast, of the midst of the sea (i.e. the islands) and the dry land (i.e. the mainlands)" who brought their tributes before the successful Assyrian ruler.<sup>218</sup> It is probable that the rulers of the Phoenician cities had to support the Assyrian army by providing ships.

During his "second campaign" Ashurbanipal marched again to Egypt, where a new pharaoh, Tanutamon (Assyrian: Tandamane) had replaced Terhaqah who had died shortly before.<sup>219</sup> Tanutamon was able to drive the Assyrians out of Egypt, but the new approach of the Assyrian army forced him to flee. The "third campaign" was directed against Tyre and Arwad.<sup>220</sup> As it seems, both cities had left Assyrian

215 Cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 267–276. As far as the expedition to Egypt is concerned, see A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 84 (chronicle 1), col.IV 16: "The seventh year: On the fifth day of the month Adar, the army of Assyria was defeated in Egypt". A different report is given by the Esarhaddon chronicle, see *ibid.* 126, line 20.

216 R.Borger, *Asarhaddon* (1956) 86 (§ 57), 110 (§ 71), and 112 (§ 76). See also the commemorative stela of the Nahr el-Kelb (*ibid.* 101, § 67), where Tyre is mentioned in connection with the campaign against Egypt, but in broken context, and from Zincirli (*ibid.* 96–100, § 65), where the king of Tyre is obviously depicted as a prisoner besides the son of the pharaoh Terhaqah. Cf. A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975), chronicles 1 and 14 (pp.85 and 127), and H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 278–286.

217 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB II* (1927) 290 ff., §§ 770–775; 323 ff., §§ 844 f.; 340 ff., §§ 875 f.; 345, § 889 (= §§ 770–775); 346, §§ 892–894; 348 ff., §§ 900–904. See also A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 128 (Esarhaddon chronicle, lines 40–44, fragmentary).

218 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB II* (1927) 340 ff., § 876.

219 *Ibid.* 290 ff., §§ 776–778; 323 ff., § 846; 340 ff., § 877; 348 ff., §§ 906 f.

220 *Ibid.* 290 ff., §§ 779–783; 323 ff., §§ 847–849; cf. also 348 ff., § 912 and 369 ff., § 970.

overlordship after the Egyptians had successfully fought against the Assyrian occupation. Ashurbanipal besieged Tyre, Ba'al surrendered and gave members of his family as hostages. Because of the rich dowries which were brought by the daughters of Ba'al and by his brother to Assyria, Ashurbanipal released the son of Ba'al who had been offered as a hostage too. Thus Yahimilki was able to return to Tyre. Yakinlu also submitted and personally brought his daughter with a large dowry to Nineveh, as did Mugallu of Tabal and Sandasharme of Hilakku. It is probable that it was after this campaign that the mainland of Tyre, already separated from the principality during the time of Esarhaddon, was now transformed into the Assyrian province of Surru (Tyre).<sup>221</sup> The king of Arwad, Yakinlu, died shortly after these events. Ashurbanipal installed one of his sons, Aziba'al, as king of Arwad. Thus both Tyre and Arwad remained under the rule of local dynasties, but were politically dependent on Assyria.

In the accounts of his later years Ashurbanipal only once (about 644/643 B.C.) refers again to Syria.<sup>222</sup> Returning from a campaign against tribes in northern Arabia he fought with the cities Akko and Ushu, which had revolted. It is said that the people of Ushu had been not submissive towards their governors and had not paid the annual tribute. Now part of the population was deported to Assyria, together with the (statues of their) gods. Ba'al of Tyre is not mentioned in this context; he had died some time before.

## (2) The Neo-Babylonian period.

The breakdown of the Neo-Assyrian empire encouraged Egypt to intervene in Palestine and Syria, where Assyrian rule had already become weak during the late years of Ashurbanipal. Psammetichus I (664–610), a contemporary of the founder of the Chaldaean dynasty of Babylon, Nabopolassar (625–605), passed through Syria, obviously finding no serious resistance there, and competed with the Babylonians in upper Mesopotamia, where the last Assyrian kings had taken refuge (cf. Herodotus II 257). As far as Nabopolassar is concerned, he entered Syrian territory — as far as one can tell from a damaged passage of a chronicle — during his 3rd year of reign.<sup>223</sup> During his later years, Egypt was ruled by Necho II (610–595). The march of an Egyptian army through Syria is mentioned in the biblical tradition; according to II Chron.35:20, the aim of the campaign was Karkamish, where Necho joined his military forces with those of Ashur-uballit II, the last "king of Assyria".<sup>224</sup> The Euphrates became the border between the territories held by Egypt and the rest of

221 E.Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* (1920) 66 f. and 770, cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 291, and the mention of an Assyrian official as governor of Tyre: A.Ungnad, *RIA II* (1938) 446 s.v. Belshadua.

222 D.D.Luckenbill, *ARAB II* (1927) 290 ff., § 830; cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 293.

223 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 90 (chronicle 2, line 33; context broken).

224 *Ibid.* 96 (chronicle 3, lines 66–75).

Assyria. Necho took up residence at Riblah "in the land of Hamath",<sup>225</sup> where he met Jehoahaz of Judah and installed Eliakim, now called Jehoiakim, as new king of Judah.

During the later years of Nabopolassar's reign Nebuchadnezzar, the eldest son and crown prince, became the principal commander of the Babylonian army. He captured Kimuhu, a town located west of the Euphrates and south of Karkamish.<sup>226</sup> This place, which became a Babylonian garrison, was attacked by the Egyptians in the year 20 of Nabopolassar's reign.<sup>227</sup> Kimuhu was besieged and captured, and the Babylonian troops were defeated. The counter-attack of Nabopolassar followed immediately. The Babylonian army marched along the Euphrates, crossed the river to the Syrian side and conquered three settlements. Afterwards the Babylonians returned home to Babylon, while the Egyptians made use of the occasion and penetrated from Karkamish to a town in upper Mesopotamia, Quramatu,<sup>228</sup> and pushed back the Babylonians who had been stationed there.

The decisive battle between the Egyptians and the Babylonians took place at Karkamish in 605, i.e. during the last (21st) year of Nabopolassar.<sup>229</sup> The Babylonian army, headed by Nebuchadnezzar, forced the Egyptians to withdraw and pursued them until they were defeated a second time "in the district of Hamath". During the same year Nabopolassar died and Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) became king of Babylon. Already in his accession year he returned to Syria ("Hattu"), where he took rich booty. Another campaign followed in the next year. There was no military resistance; "all the kings of Hattu came into his (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar's) presence and he received their vast tribute".<sup>230</sup> Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to Palestine and conquered Ashkalon. Also during his second full year (603) Nebuchadnezzar appeared in Syria, and rich booty arrived from Hattu in Babylon during the 3rd year of his reign. In his 4th year (601) the Babylonian king marched victoriously through Syria and fought with Necho II of Egypt. Although the report points to a battle which was undecided,<sup>231</sup> the fact that Nebuchadnezzar ended his campaign and returned to Babylon in order to gather new troops could indicate that the Egyptians proved the stronger on the field.<sup>232</sup> Only two years later, in the 6th year of his reign (599), Nebuchadnezzar appeared again in northern Syria, fighting with Arab tribes. In his 7th year (598) he crossed Syria and arrived at Palestine, where he besieged Jerusalem. It was in March 597 B.C. that he captured the city and took prisoner its king,

225 II Kings 23:33, cf. II Chron.36:3 f. and Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* X,6.- Riblah was located in the northern Bīqā'.

226 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 97 (chronicle 4, lines 12–15).

227 *Ibid.* 98, lines 16–26.

228 Cf. D.J.Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings*, London 1956, 83, and M.C.Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963) 232.

229 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 99–102 (chronicle 5).

230 *Ibid.* 100 (chronicle 5, line 17).

231 *Ibid.* 101, rev.7: "They fought one another in the battlefield and both sides suffered severe losses".

232 H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 309 f., places the "revolt" of king Jehoiakim, mentioned in II Kings 24:1, into this context.

Jehoiakim.<sup>233</sup> A new king, Mattaniah, now named Zedekiah, was installed in Jerusalem.<sup>234</sup> The Babylonian chronicle ends the report on the deeds of Nebuchadnezzar II with the 11th year of his reign (594/593). At this time Egypt was ruled by a new pharaoh, Psammetichus II (595–589), and Tyre was reigned by Ethba'al/ Ittoba'al III. Before the chronicle ends, campaigns to Syria are mentioned for years 8 (to Karkamish), 10, and 11. This could mean that the Neo-Babylonian rule in Syria was still weak, and opposition could be backed by Egypt, which was in close contact with the Phoenician cities, its partners in maritime trade.<sup>235</sup>

Information on the historical events in Syria during the following years of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon is furnished by biblical sources. Some elucidation could also be detected from the inscriptions of the Babylonian king carved into the rocks at Wadi Brisa and Nahr el-Kelb (Lebanon).<sup>236</sup> The inscription from Wadi Brisa (col.IX 13 ff.) refers to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar was able to conquer the Lebanon mountains and to drive out of this region an enemy who is said to have terrorised the native population. This adversary could only have been the king of Egypt. The indigenous people of the Lebanon mountains were now resettled by the Babylonian king, who could dispose of the cedar wood for building purposes in his capital, Babylon. The inscription at the mouth of the "Dog River" (Nahr el-Kelb) north of Beirut notes only the city doors made of cedar wood (from the Lebanon) and plated with bronze.

Psammetichus II of Egypt (595–589) had already died before Nebuchadnezzar besieged and captured Jerusalem a second time (587/586). He was replaced by his son Hophra/Apries (589–570). Either Psammetichus II or Apries – or both of them – encouraged Zedekiah of Judah to rebel against Babylonia. Zedekiah refused to pay the annual tribute hoping that Egypt would support his rebellion (cf. Ezek.17:15). Egypt attacked and sacked Sidon and fought with other Phoenician cities,<sup>237</sup> but there is no hint of immediate military help for the king of Judah. Nebuchadnezzar marched to Syria and Palestine and opened the siege of Jerusalem; later on, he made his residence at Riblah in the northern Bika'. It was at Riblah that he punished the captured king Zedekiah and his family; the blinded Zedekiah was brought in chains to Babylon (II Kings 25:1 ff.).

As far as Syrian history is concerned, the relations between Nebuchadnezzar II and the centres of the Syrian littoral are of special interest.<sup>238</sup> The military deeds of

233 Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* X,7, says that Jehoiakim hoped in vain that Egypt would help him.

234 II Kings 24:17; Jer.37:1, cf. also II Chron.36:13, Ezek.17:13, and Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* X,7.

235 Cf. Herodotus II 159 and IV 42, also H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 313.

236 F.H.Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II. in Wadi Brisa und am Nahr el-Kelb* (WVDOG 5), Leipzig 1906; St.Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (VAB 4), Leipzig 1912, no.19. Cf. the claim to have ruled over Syrian kings and the mention of timber (cedars) from the Lebanon *ibid.* nos. 17 and 37.

237 Cf. Herodotus II 161 and Diodorus Siculus I 68,1; for discussion see H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 318.

238 See already H.-P.Müller, *WO* VI/6 (1971) 189–204.



Nebuchadnezzar II in the Lebanon mentioned in the Wadi Brisa inscription could well fit into the picture given by the Tyrian annals as recorded by Flavius Josephus and, later on, by Diodorus Siculus. Nebuchadnezzar had a vital interest in maintaining his control of the Phoenician cities which was questioned by Egypt.<sup>239</sup> It is not known to what degree the leading aristocracy of the Phoenician centres, especially of Sidon and Tyre, were in agreement with Egypt. Biblical sources<sup>240</sup> and an excerpt of Flavius Josephus<sup>241</sup> point to an attack by the Babylonians against Tyre and the capture of the city after a siege of 13 years (c.585–572). Nebuchadnezzar II himself has not left pertinent information, but a list of his court officials and vassals<sup>242</sup> mentions, at the end, the kings of Tyre, Sidon and Arwad beside local rulers of Palestine; the text is dated to the year 570 B.C. A receipt for flour provisions destined for the king (Nebuchadnezzar) and the soldiers “who went with him against the land of Tyre”,<sup>243</sup> and perhaps also the evidence for the employment of experts from Tyre, Arwad and Gubla/Byblos by Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>244</sup> could corroborate the assumption of a military campaign against the Phoenician cities, especially Tyre.<sup>245</sup> In any case it seems certain that Nebuchadnezzar was in full control of Phoenicia and the interior of Syria during his later years, i.e. after 570. In the year 570 Apries of Egypt was replaced by Amasis II (570–526).<sup>246</sup> During his early reign internal conflicts shook Egypt, and this might have encouraged Nebuchadnezzar to start a campaign against Amasis.<sup>247</sup> Although the Babylonian king claims his victory it appears that the campaign ended with a kind of agreement between the combatants. This certainly did not touch on the Babylonian control in Syria, and there is no evidence so far that Egypt tried to stir up a rebellion in this part of the Babylonian empire.

- 239 A fragmentary Aramaic letter, discovered at Saqqara in Egypt and possibly sent by an Asiatic vassal of the pharaoh (KAI 266), could perhaps date to the time of the Babylonian-Egyptian controversy.
- 240 Ezek.26–28: prophecy and lamentation concerning Tyre, cf. also Jer.47.
- 241 Contra Apionem I 156, cf. *ibid.* 133 and 143.
- 242 E.Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt*, Berlin – Leipzig 1931, 282–294; cf. A.L.Oppenheim, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), *ANET* (1950), 307 f.
- 243 R.P.Dougherty, *Archives from Erech. Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus*, New Haven 1923, 61 (no.151); E.Unger, *ZAW* 44 (1926) 316.
- 244 E.F.Weidner, in: *Mélanges Dussaud II*, Paris 1939, 923–925; cf. A.L.Oppenheim, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), *ANET* (1950) 308.
- 245 Detailed discussion of the date and the reliability of these sources by H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 319–337.
- 246 Cartouches placed by Amasis on a vase and a musical instrument which were discovered in Sidon could point to a continuation of trade contacts between Egypt and the Phoenician centres of this time; they should not be taken as a proof for a political domination of Egypt; cf. J.Leclant, in: W.A.Ward (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, Beirut 1968, 18.
- 247 Year 37 of Amasis' reign: St.Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (VAB 4), Leipzig 1912, 206 f. (no.48); cf. A.L.Oppenheim, in: J.B.Pritchard (ed.), *ANET* (1950) 308. The invasion is also noted by Flavius Josephus, *Ant.Jud.* X,9, but the report that the pharaoh was killed seems to be an error.

In 564 Ba'al III of Tyre died.<sup>248</sup> Nebuchadnezzar did not install a new king but appointed judges who governed the city as Babylonian officials.<sup>249</sup> They were responsible for the city also at the time when the successors of Nebuchadnezzar ruled in Babylon: Amel-Marduk/Evil-Merodah (561–560), Nergal-shar-usur/Neriglissar (559–556), Labashi-Marduk (556), and Nabonidus (555–539). Neriglissar could have touched on Syrian territory when he campaigned in Cilicia during the 3rd year of his reign, i.e. in 557.<sup>250</sup> Nabonidus (or his predecessor?) reinstalled a king of Tyre, Ba'al-ezer, who ruled the city only for a short period and was followed by Mahar-Ba'al and Hiram III who reigned successively until 532, i.e. the time when Babylon has been already conquered by Cyrus. During his 3rd year (553) Nabonidus was active in Syria again, where Babylonian troops were stationed and cedar beams were brought from.<sup>251</sup> Texts from the time of Nabonidus<sup>252</sup> sometimes mention Syrian toponyms which could point to "normal" relations between the Babylonian core area and the Syrian centres. The long absence of Nabonidus from Babylon during his stay at Taima could indicate an integration of Syria into the empire without serious complications.

### (3) Syria under the rule of the Achaemenids.

When Cyrus II (559–530) entered Babylonia and became the heir of the Neo-Babylonian empire in 539 B.C., the Phoenician city of Tyre was still under the rule of Hiram III.<sup>253</sup> Flavius Josephus, Herodotus and other writers of classical antiquity now become more important as sources than before. The clash of the Persian empire with the Greek poleis has deeply influenced the interest of Greek historians. Besides biblical records, native monuments with inscriptions in Phoenician or Aramaic have some bearing on the political history of Syria too. The official inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings<sup>254</sup> are not especially concerned with Syrian affairs. This could perhaps be understood as a hint to a relatively uncomplicated integration of Syria into the Persian empire. On the other hand, it makes it difficult to outline the history of

248 Tablets, written in Tyre after the year 570, could therefore date to his reign; see H.J.Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (1973) 339 f.

249 As names of judges are mentioned Yakinba'al, Chelbes/Kaleb, Abbar, Mattan III, Ger-Ashtart; cf. H.J.Katzenstein, *l.c.* 340 f. and 349.

250 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 103 f. (chronicle 6).

251 *Ibid.* 105 (chronicle 7); cf. St.Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (VAB 4), Leipzig 1912, 220 ff. (no.1).

252 E.Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt*, Leipzig – Berlin 1931, 38; E.W.Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents*, Ann Arbor 1935, 86 f.

253 According to Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I 158 f.

254 F.H.Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (VAB 3), Leipzig 1911 (reprint 1968). Some information on Sidon is given by a chronicle of Artaxerxes III, see A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 114 (chronicle 9).

Syria during this period.<sup>255</sup> Syria became nominally part of the Persian empire after the capture of Babylon and the declaration of Cyrus II as king of Babylon. The countries west of the Euphrates, i.e. "beyond the river" (Ebirnari) from a Mesopotamian point of view, came under the responsibility of Gubaru/Ugbaru (Gobryas), who also governed Babylonia. He had already campaigned together with Cyrus before the conquest of Babylon and contributed considerably to the Persian victory.<sup>256</sup> Some time after the capture of Babylon he became the satrap of Babylonia and Syria, and he kept this office until the time when Cambyses II ascended the throne.<sup>257</sup> There is no indication that Gubaru personally appeared in Syria and would have interfered in the political affairs of this part of the empire. The texts from Neirab<sup>258</sup> could confirm the impression that the transition of the rule from Nabonidus to Cyrus II and also from Cyrus II to Cambyses II (529–522) did not leave deeper traces in Syria. But Cambyses was the first Persian king who personally intervened in Syria at the time when he campaigned against Egypt (526/525). The Phoenician cities (cf. Herodotus III 19) demonstrated their loyalty towards the ruler of the empire. There is no indication for a resistance of Syrian entities against the overlord; only Gaza in Palestine had to be subdued by military force (cf. Polybios XVI 40).

Darius I (521–486) organized his empire in a new way by creating 20 satrapies. The information on this administrative reform comes from Herodotus III 89–96.<sup>259</sup> In connection with this reform the satrapy "Babili and Ebirnari" was dissolved. The territories west of the middle Euphrates, between Mesopotamia and Egypt and with the addition of Cyprus, became the new 5th satrapy.<sup>260</sup> In his inscriptions from Bisutun, Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam<sup>261</sup> Syria or Syrians are not mentioned explicitly among the countries and peoples under the sway of Darius I.

After the 6th year of Darius I, when the 20 satrapies were established, the information on Syria becomes very scanty. The growing importance of Aramaic as

255 Cf., e.g., O.Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520–320*, Halle (Saale) 1935 (reprint Hildesheim 1972); K.Galling, *Syrien in der Politik der Achämeniden bis 448 v.Chr.* (Der Alte Orient 36/3–4), Leipzig 1937; for Phoenician problems see H.J.Katzenstein, *BibAr* 42 (1949) 23–34; J.Elayi, *JANES* 12 (1980) 13–28.

256 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 104–111 (chronicle 7, Nabonidus chronicle).

257 O.Leuze, *l.c.* 25–36.

258 P.Dhorme, *RA* 25 (1928) 53–82; F.M.Fales, *OA* 12 (1973) 131–142; cf. I.Eph'al, *Or* 47 (1978) 84–87; J.Oelsner, *AOF* 16 (1989) 68–77, and L.Cagni, *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990) 169–185 (date: c.556–521 B.C.).

259 For a detailed discussion of the pertinent problems see O.Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520–320*, Halle 1935, 199–242.

260 Herodotus III 91, cf. P.Calmeyer, *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990) 109–129. Cyprus was formerly ruled by Egypt, cf. Herodotus II 182. For the discussion of Ushtani and Tatnai (cf. Ezra 5,3), governors of Ebirnari before the reform of Darius I, see especially O.Leuze, *l.c.* 192–198 and 256–273.

261 F.H.Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911, 8 ff.; O.Leuze, *l.c.* 242–255.

the language of internal communication and papyrus or leather as writing-material gave to textual information only a slim chance of survival. Most of the written records, among them the Tyrian annals, were lost. Sidon seems to have been the most important Phoenician city during this period.<sup>262</sup> It was assumed that the independence of Carthage had had negative consequences for the political position of the mother-city, Tyre.<sup>263</sup> Sidon was ruled by a local dynasty, important for the Persians because of their role with regard to maritime support of Persian actions in the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Herodotus III 319). The city was subordinate to the Persian satrap who resided at Tripolis, at least during the 4th century, but there was perhaps a temporary residence also in Sidon. Starting with Tabnit, whose sarcophagus has a Phoenician inscription which calls him a priest of the goddess Astart, king of the Sidonians and son of Eshmun'azar (KAI 13), the sequence of the kings of Sidon can be established until the time of Alexander the Great:<sup>264</sup> Eshmun'azar I, Tabnit, Eshmun'azar II (c.535),<sup>265</sup> Bod'ashtart I (c.520)<sup>266</sup> and II (c.500). Bod'ashtart II was followed by three rulers: Ba'alshilleim I (c.480), Abd'ammon (c.450), and Ba'ana (c.430), who possibly belonged to another dynasty.<sup>267</sup> Straton I (c.374–358) had close trade contacts with Greece, where he was honoured by an Attic decree.<sup>268</sup> He took part in a revolt of satraps against the Achaemenid rule, which was also supported by Egypt, i.e. pharaoh Tachos (362–360). In connection with this uprising he was murdered by his own wife.

His successor, Tennes, is known especially because of his involvement in the great Phoenician revolt against Artaxerxes III Ochus (358–338). The information comes initially from Diodorus Siculus XVI 40–51.<sup>269</sup> As far as Sidon and other Phoenician centres were concerned, it was a rebellion of prospering cities, aiming mainly for more autonomy (cf. Isocrates, Philippos 102). Encroachments by the Persian administration were obviously the immediate reason for the revolt, which is first attested for

262 Cf. Herodotus VII 44, 67, 96, 99 f., and 128. For the various Phoenician centres under Persian rule see J.Elayi, *JANES* 12 (1980) 13–28 and *JNES* 41 (1982) 81–110; id., *Sidon, cité autonome de l'empire perse*, Paris 1989; id., *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990) 59–71. For *Simyra* cf. E.Gubel, *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990) 37–49, for *Iraqata* J.-P.Thalmann, *ibid.* pp.51–57.

263 H.J.Katzenstein, *BibAr* 42 (1949) 23–34.

264 M.Dunand, *MUSJ* 49 (1975–1976) 491–499; J.Elayi, *Sidon, cité autonome de l'empire perse*, Paris 1989, 235 ff.

265 The Phoenician inscription on his sarcophagus (KAI 14) points to Dor and Yaffa, both rich in grain, as acquisitions of Sidon at his time. — Th.Kelly, *BASOR* 268 (1987) 39–56, taking into account information supplied by Herodotus, prefers lower absolute dates for Eshmun'azar II and his father Tabnit (before 480 resp. c.525).

266 Cf. the Phoenician inscription of Bod'ashtart I (KAI 15) and that of his son, Yatinmilk, who perhaps did not ascend the throne (KAI 16).

267 For the sequence of rulers cf. W.Röllig, *WO* 5 (1969–1970) 121–124.

268 W.Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig 1915–1924, I no.195 (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II/III<sup>2</sup>, Chicago 1974, no.141).

269 D.Barag, *BASOR* 183 (1966) 6–12; S.F.Bondi, *RSF* 2 (1974) 149–160.

Tripolis.<sup>270</sup> The rebellion seems to have had some connection with the unsuccessful Persian campaign to Egypt (351/350).<sup>271</sup> The uprising began with an action against the Paradeisos, i.e. the royal reservation of cedar forest in the Lebanon near Tripolis, and some people of the Persian administration obviously at Tripolis itself. The satrap of Syria, Belesys, and the governor of Cilicia joined forces, while the rebels hired mercenaries under the command of the Greek Mentor, who had been in Egyptian service before. The troops of the satraps, mercenaries too, were defeated. Artaxerxes was well aware of the danger and personally headed an army marching to Syria in order to suppress the rebellion which had also spread to Cyprus.<sup>272</sup> Sidon, the wealthiest and politically dominant city in the Levant, became the focal point of the revolt. Diodorus (XVI 43–45) reports the treacherous behaviour of Tennes, king of Sidon, who contacted Artaxerxes, was in turn promised advantages after the capture of Sidon, and facilitated the conquest of his city by the troops of Artaxerxes. The population of Sidon is said to have defended their houses and to have voluntarily destroyed their ships in order to leave no possibility of escape. Tennes obviously was executed by the Persians afterwards; if so, it remains open for discussion if he really played the role ascribed to him by Diodorus. Sidon was burnt down, and the other rebellious cities submitted. The fact that prisoners from Sidon arrived in Babylon in the year 345,<sup>273</sup> could indicate that Sidon was captured shortly before.<sup>274</sup> It is not known whether Egypt, then ruled by pharaoh Nectanebos II (359–341), gave support to the revolting Phoenician cities.

The defeat of Sidon might have been not so heavy as reported by Diodorus. In any case, according to the witness of ancient historians, Sidon was a wealthy and impor-

270 The name of the satrap was Belesys, and the territory controlled by him was called Syria (Diodorus XVI 42,1). About this time there existed, as it appears from this tradition, a satrapy of Syria. It was supposed that this was the case already by about 401 B.C., because Xenophon (I 4, 10) refers to a certain Syrian called Belesys, possibly the satrap of Syria not mentioned by name in the record of Diodorus (XIV 20,5). For the same period cf. O.Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520–320*, Halle 1935, 309–318, who proposed Abrokamas as the name of the satrap in Syria about 401 B.C. For the possible extension of the Syrian satrapy c. 350 B.C. cf. *ibid.*, 352–355.

271 See also F.K.Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, 181; D.Barag, *BASOR* 183 (1966) 7. It seems that the beginning of the revolt should be dated to the years 349 or, less probable, 347. In any case, the information given by Isocrates, dating from the year 346, would be the *terminus ante quem*.

272 D.Barag, *BASOR* 183 (1966) 6–12, assumed some influence of the rebellion on Judah, but the archaeological material interpreted in this way is not convincing enough.

273 A.K.Grayson, *Chronicles* (1975) 114 (chronicle 9, of Artaxerxes III).

274 D.Barag, *BASOR* 183 (1966) 8 n.7; cf. also M.A.Dandamayev, *Politicheskaya istoriya achemenidskoy derzhavy*, Moskva 1985, 251, who takes the year 345 as the date for the end of the revolt in all Phoenicia. F.K.Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, 183, referred to the beginning of a minting of coins by the satrap Mazaios in 343/342, which would be the date *ante quem*.

tant city at the time when Alexander the Great started his conquest of Syria in 333, i.e. after the battle of Issos which opened up the route to this country.<sup>275</sup> Successors of Tennes were Evagoras, Straton II, and Abdalonymus.<sup>276</sup> Local kings of Byblos are also known by their names (Shipitba'al, Yehaumilk, Batno'am).<sup>277</sup>

The conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great<sup>278</sup> began in autumn 333. His troops did not pursue the defeated army of Darius III to the Euphrates but turned southward. They followed the route along the Orontes valley and marched through the Eleutheros (Akkar) plain to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The king of Arados was with the Persian fleet, but his son, who was in command at home, submitted to Alexander immediately (Arrianus II/13, 7 f.; Curt.Rufus IV/1, 5 f.). At Marathos, located on the mainland opposite Arados (Arwad/Ruad), Alexander received a letter from the Persian king and sent his reply to Darius III; it was also there that he was informed by his general Parmenion about the success of the expedition to inland Syria: Damascus was captured and the treasure and baggage of Darius fell into the hands of the Greek troops.<sup>279</sup> Alexander proceeded to Gubla/Byblos, which surrendered, and then to Sidon. The ruler of this city, Straton (II), had a close relationship with the Persian king and hesitated to submit. At last he did so, "rather at the desire of the people than of his own accord. He was deemed unworthy to rule and Hephaestion was allowed to choose as king the one he thought most worthy of that high station".<sup>280</sup> The two candidates of Hephaestion refused to become king and referred to the custom of their country that only a person of royal stock could be king. They proposed to install an impoverished relative of the royal house, Abdalonymus. Although the rich people of Sidon lodged their protest, Abdalonymus became king of Sidon the territory of which was enlarged by Alexander. Troops from Sidon were taken into the service of the Macedonian king and helped him when he was besieging Tyre. Ships of Sidon supported the siege but, on the other hand, evacuated a great many Tyrians (c.15000 people) to Sidon.<sup>281</sup> Arados, Byblos and other Phoenician centres sent ships in order to participate in the siege of Tyre; after seven months Tyre was captured. The city itself was not destroyed, but many of its inhabitants were enslaved. During his stay at Tyre Alexander received a proposal for peace from the Persian king. Having already conquered a considerable part of the Persian empire, he did not accept and proceeded to Palestine, where he fought

275 Arrianus II 15,6 f. and 16,7, cf. also Curtius Rufus IV/1, 15–17 and 22; see S.F.Bondi, *RSF* 2 (1974) 152 f.

276 M.Dunand, *MUSJ* 49 (1975–1976) 498 f.

277 KAI 9–11; cf. also M.Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Paris 1939, 407 ff.; J.Borchardt, in: *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien* (Fs.K.Bittel), 1, Mainz 1983, 105–120 (with arguments for the dependency of Sidon from Persia).

278 For the itinerary see J.Seibert, *Die Eroberung des Perserreiches durch Alexander den Großen, auf kartographischer Grundlage* (Beiheft TAVO, 68), Wiesbaden 1985. Principal sources are the pertinent records by Curtius Rufus (*History of Alexander*) and Arrianus (*Anabasis Alexandri*).

279 Cf. O.Leuze, *Lc.* 413 ff.

280 Curt.Rufus IV/1, 16 (translation by J.C.Rolfe, Cambridge/Mass. – London 1971).

281 Curt.Rufus IV/2,1–IV/4,19.

against the ruler of Gaza. After a siege of two months Gaza submitted, and the army of Alexander marched to Egypt. In the year 331, after a short stay in Tyre, Alexander turned to the Euphrates. Before leaving Syria, he appointed a new governor of the Syrian satrapy. The control of Alexander over Syria was strengthened and secured by his victory over Darius III at Gaugamela during the same year.

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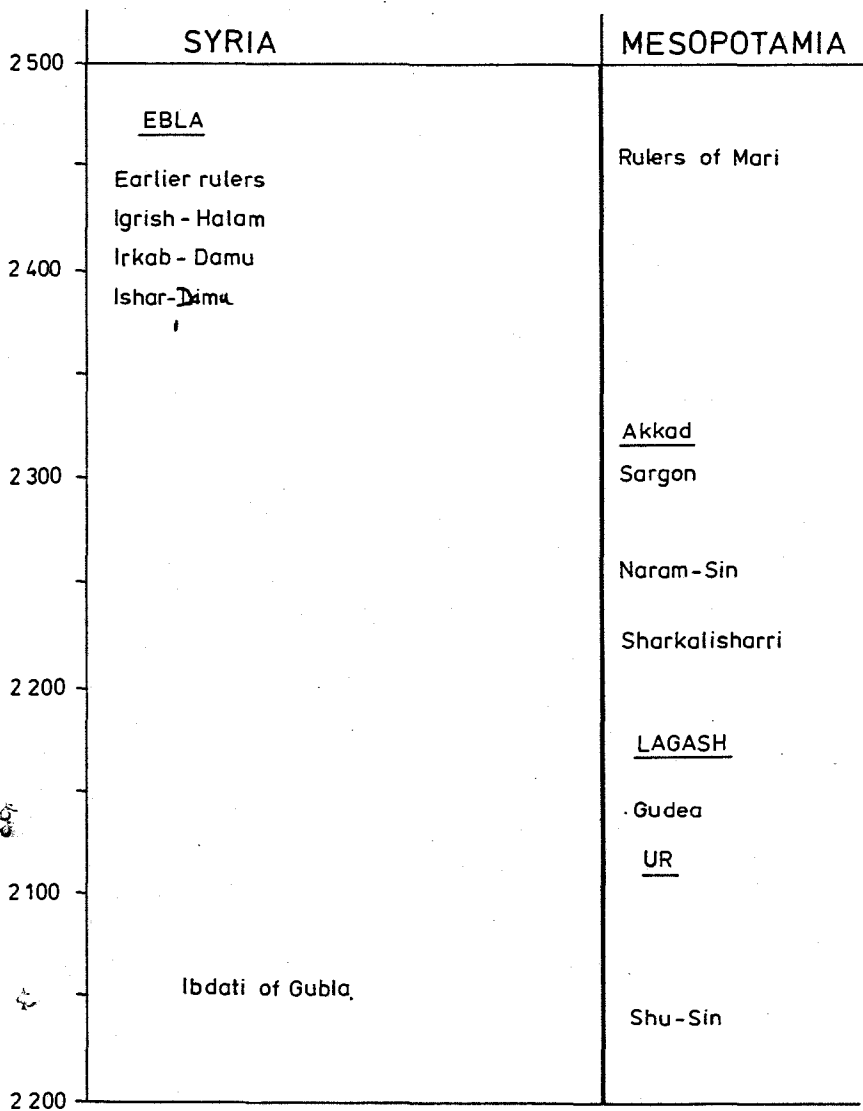
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Synchronisms : 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium

	EGYPT	SYRIA
2000	<u>XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty</u> (Middle Kingdom)	Igrish-hepa (Ebla)
1950		
1900		Early kings of Ugarit ↓
1850		<u>GUBLA</u> <u>QATNA</u> <u>KARKAMISH</u>
1800	<u>XIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty</u>	Abishemu I? Ishhi - Adad Amutpi' el
1750		Yakin - ilu Yantinhammu (+ further rulers)
1700	<u>XIV<sup>th</sup> dynasty</u>	Aplahanda Yatar' ami Yahdul - Lim
1650	<u>XV<sup>th</sup> - XVII<sup>th</sup> dynasties</u> (Hyksos)	
1600		
1550	<u>XVIII<sup>th</sup> dynasty</u> (New Kingdom)	
1500	Amenophis I Tuthmosis I	

Synchronisms:

# SYRIA

# MESOPOTAMIA

## YAMHAD

Sumu'epuh

Yarim-Lim I

Hammurapi I

Abba'el

Yarim-Lim II

Niqmepa

Irtabum

Yarim-Lim III

Hammurapi II?

Shamshi-Adad I  
Rim-Sin of Larsa  
Ibalpi'el of Eshnunna  
Ibni-Adad of Hazor  
Shennam of Urshum

Hattushili I of Hatti

## MARI

Yahdun-Lim

Sumuyamam

(Yasmah-Adad)

Zimri-Lim

## BABYLON

Hammurapi

Samsu-iluna

Formation of

HURRI - MITTANI



2000

1950

1900

1850

1800

1750

1700

1650

1600

1550

1500

2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, 1<sup>st</sup> half

	EGYPT	SYRIA			
1500	Tuthmosis III			<u>MUKISH</u> Idrimi	
1450	Amenophis II			Niqmepa Ilim-ilimma	
1400	Tuthmosis IV	<u>AMURRU</u>	<u>QADESH</u>	<u>QATNA</u>	<u>NUHASHE</u> (several kings)
1350	Amenophis III Akhenaten	Aziru	Shutatarra Aitakkama	Akizzi	Itur-Addu Tette
1300	Horemheb <u>XIX</u> <sup>th</sup> dynasty Seti I Ramses II	Ari - Teshup Duppi - Teshup Benteshina ( Shapili ) Benteshina	Niqmadu	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">           Rib - Adda of Gubla            Zimrida of Sidon            Abimilki of Tyre            Biryawaza of Ube            Ammunira of Beruta            etc. (Amarna period )         </div>	
1250		Shaushga - muwa			
1200	Merenptah <u>XIX</u> <sup>th</sup> dynasty Ramses III				
1150					
1100					
1050	<u>XXI</u> <sup>th</sup> dynasty				
1000					

Synchronisms :

SYRIA			ANATOLIA	MESOP	
<div>Ibira of Ugarit, Ir-Teshup of Tunip</div>			HITTITE MIDDLE KINGDOM	HURRI-MITTANI Barattarna	1500
				Saushtatar	1450
					1400
<u>UGARIT</u>	<u>HALAB</u>	<u>KARKAMISH</u>	<u>HATTI</u>	<u>ASSYRIA</u>	
Ammistamru I			Shuppiluliuma I	Ashur-uballit I	1350
Niqmadu II	Telipinu	Piyashili	Arnuwanda II		
Arhalba	Talmi-Sharruma		Murshili II		
Niqmepa		Shahurunuwa		Adad-nirari I	1300
			Muwattalli II		
Ammistamru II			Murshili III		
		Ini-Teshup	Hattushili III	Shalmaneser I	1250
Ibiranu			Tuthaliya IV	Tukulti-Ninurta I	
Niqmadu III ?			Arnuwanda III		
Ammurapi		Talmi-Teshup	Shuppiluliuma II		1200
		Kuzi-Teshup			
					1150
				Tiglath-pileser I	1100
				Ashur-bel-kala	
					1050
					1000

2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, 2<sup>nd</sup> half

	PALEST.	SYRIA				
		DAMASCUS	HAMATH	TYRE	BIT AGUSI	SAM'AL
1000	David	(Hadad-ezer)	To'i	Abiba'al		
950	Solomon	Rezon		Hiram I		
		(2-3 kings)		Balbazar I		
				Abdastratus	Yehimilk of Gubla Eli-Ba al of Gubla	
				(3 rulers)		
900	Baasha / Asa	Ben-Hadad I		Ethba'al II		Gabbar Bmh
		Hadad-ezer			Gusi	
850	Ahab		Irhuleni	Balezoros	Arame	Hayanu Sh'I
	Joram	Haza'el		Mattan I		Kilamuwa
	Jehu	Ben-Hadad III /		Pygmalion	Atarshumki	
	Jehoahaz	Mari'	Uramatis			Qrl ?
800	Jehoash	Hadianu	Zakir			Panammu I
	Jeroboam					
750	Pekah / Ahaz	Rezin/Rahianu		Ethba'al II	Mati'ilu	Bar-Sur Panammu II
			Eni'il	Hiram II		Bar-Rakib
				Mattan II		
700	Hoshea / Hezekiah		Yaubi'di	Luli		
650				Ba'al		
600	Jehoiakim Zedekiah			Ethba'al III		
550				Ba'al III		
				Ba'al-ezer		
				Mahar-Ba'al		
				Hiram III		
500						

Synchronisms:

SYRIA		MESOP	
			1000
			950
<u>UNQI</u>	<u>KARKAMISH</u>	<u>ASSYRIA</u>	900
Lubarna I		Ashurnasirpal II	
Sapalulme	Sangara	Shalmaneser III	850
H/Qalparunda			
Lubarna II			
Sasi	Astiruwas	Adad-nirari III	800
	Yasiris	Shalmaneser IV	
	Kamanis	Ashur-dan III	
	Pisiris	Ashur-nirari V	750
Tutammu		Tiglath-pileser III	
		Shalmaneser V	
		Sargon II	700
		Sennacherib	
		Esarhaddon	
		Ashurbanipal	650
		<u>BABYLONIA</u>	
		Nabopolassar	
		Nebuchadnezzar II	600
		Nabonidus	550
		<u>PERSIAN RULERS</u>	
			500

1st millennium, 1st half

